Modern Philology

THE GENEALOGY OF THE EDITIONS OF THE
GENEALOGIA DEORUM

Hortis, in his generally excellent description of the several editions of the *Genealogia deorum* of Boccaccio, does not define the relationships of those editions to each other, and is not always accurate in occasional statements bearing on those relationships.[1] The following notes will serve to define those relationships, and will touch on some other matters of bibliographical interest.

MANUSCRIPTS

Certain facts with regard to the MSS are first to be mentioned.

In 1371 Boccaccio allowed a friend to make a copy of an autograph MS, now lost, of the *Genealogia*, and from that first apograph other copies were made. The text of the lost autograph is now called the Vulgate text. A second autograph, containing a revised text, is preserved in the Laurentian Library.[2]

[1] A. Hortis, *Studj sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, pp. 769–85. I have examined also the descriptions by A. Bacchi della Lega in his *Bibliografia boccaccesca*, Bologna, 1875, and those by several of the general bibliographers, but find no statements as to the relationships of the editions other than those by Clément and Prince d'Essling quoted below, pp. 75, n. 1, and 78, n. 2.

[2] O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, Brunswick, 1902, pp. 93 ff.; H. Hauvette, *Boccace*, Paris, 1914, pp. 414, 446–48. Hecker prints from the second autograph the Dedicatory Letter (but not the single chapter of the general Proem, nor the Proem of Book I), the Proems of Books II–XIII, and Books XIV and XV entire.

To the list of the apographs[1] is now to be added a MS, prepared for and owned by Coluccio Salutati, recently given to the University of Chicago by President F. W. Gunsaulus, of the Armour Institute of Technology.[2]

The Chicago MS and all apographs previously examined in this regard have the Vulgate text.[3]

Before each of the first 13 books in the second autograph MS stands an elaborate genealogical tree showing the genealogy of the several divinities to be discussed in that book. At the top is a large circle in which is written the name of a divinity. From this circle descends a stem, which now expands into other lesser circles, now sends forth leaves, and now branches, which in their turn expand into circles and send forth leaves and lesser branches. In the center of each circle or leaf a name is written.[4] Similar trees appear in the Chicago MS and in several other MSS; some MSS however have blank spaces where the trees should be.[5]

For each tree there appears in the second autograph MS, in the Chicago MS, and doubtless in the MSS in general, a special rubric stating the scope of the genealogy illustrated by that tree. The first of these rubrics reads as follows in the text of the Chicago MS (f. 14r):

In arbore designata desuper ponitur in culmine demogorgon uersa in celum radice nec solum infra descripte progeniei sed deorum omnium gentilium pater. et in ramis et frondibus ab eo descendentibus describuntur eius filii et nepotes de quibus omnibus hoc in primo libro prout signati sunt distincte describitur. Verum ex eis ether solus excipitur. de quo et eius amplissima posteritate in libris sequentibus describetur. Fuerunt ergo demogorgoni filii filieque nouem. Quorum primus. litigium. secundus. pan. tercia cloto. quarta lachesis. quinta Attropos. sextus polus seu pollux. septimus phyton seu phaneta. octaua terra. Nonus autem herebus.

The autograph MS contains 45 passages from Homer, transcribed in Greek letters.[6] The apographs vary in their treatment of this

---

[1] See Hortis, pp. 227, 388, 919–23, and Hecker, p. 97, n. 1.

[2] In a forthcoming monograph I shall discuss this MS in detail.

[3] Hecker, p. 97, n. 1.

[4] Hecker, pp. 94–95, and Plate XIX.

[5] Hortis, pp. 919–23. In a forthcoming monograph I shall discuss Boccaccio's trees in detail.

[6] Hecker, pp. 137–53.

material. The Chicago MS and some others reproduce it all, others give it in part, others omit it altogether.[1] The first passage, in Book III, chapter 22, consists of four lines (*Iliad* xiv. 214–17), and the second passage, in Book IV, chapter 18, consists of three lines (*Iliad* i. 402–4).

In the Chicago MS, immediately after the end of the text of the *Genealogia*, stands a series of 17 hexameters headed *Versus editi per insignem uirum ser Dominicum siluestri de Florentia super continentia librorum de Genealogia deorum clarissimi uiri domini Johannis boccaccij de Certaldo.*[2] The first of the lines reads:

> Que narrat ter quinque libris boccacius audi.

Each of the next 15 lines indicates the content of one of the fifteen books of the *Genealogia*. The seventeenth line reads:

> Hoc ter quinque libris epigrama dominicus addit.

In a MS of the Laurentian Library (lxxxx Inf. 13) containing poems by Domenico di Silvestro and others these same hexameters appear, followed by an eighteenth, which reads:

> Quem genuit ripis Florentia fluminis Arni.

A note upon the margin of the MS states that the last two lines were composed by Coluccio Salutati.[3] The authority of this marginal note, accepted by Hortis,[4] may well be doubted, in view of the fact that in the Chicago MS, which, as stated above, was prepared for and owned by Coluccio, the line *Quem . . . . Arni* does not appear, and there is no indication of any sort that the line *Hoc . . . . addit* differs in authorship from the preceding lines.

EDITIONS

The *Genealogia* was first printed in 1472 at Venice by Wendelin of Speier. Seven other editions appeared in the late fifteenth century and the early sixteenth: the second edition in 1481 at Reggio,

---

[1] Hortis, pp. 388, 919–23; Hecker, p. 138, n. 2.

[2] Domenico di Silvestro was a notary and writer of Latin verse, active in the period 1364–1407. See L. Mehus, in Ambrosius Traversarius, *Epistolae*, Florence, 1759, Vol. II, pp. cccxxvi–cccxxxi.

[3] Mehus, p. cccxxx; A. M. Bandini, *Cat. cod. lat. bib. med. laur.*, Vol. III, Florence, 1776, coll. 714–15.

[4] Pp. 770, 771, 777–81. The statements of Hortis with regard to the *Versus* are somewhat obscure: the statement here given should make the matter clear.

the third in 1487 at Vicenza, the fourth in 1494 at Venice, the fifth in 1497 at Venice, the sixth in 1511 at Paris, the seventh in the same year at Venice, the eighth in 1532 at Basle. There is no more recent print of the work as a whole.[1]

The text of each of these editions is the Vulgate text.[2]

VENICE, 1472

This edition contains, first, the Table of Rubrics; second, the *Genealogia* itself; third, the Alphabetical Index by Domenico Bandini; fourth, the *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro.

The printer did not undertake to reproduce the genealogical trees which stood presumably in the MS which served him as copy. At the point (f. 15r) where the first tree should have appeared, he introduced a heading consisting of the first tree rubric with the substitution of the words: "Hic secundum exemplar deberet esse arbor signata in qua" for the first three words of the rubric. He then left blank a space of half a page, so that the tree might be filled in by hand. Similarly he left spaces, varying in size from two-thirds of a page to an entire page, for the other twelve trees. For the second and later books he entered no heading for the trees, and omitted the tree rubrics entirely from the text.

For the first Greek quotation the edition of 1472 prints the first two lines only, without division between lines or between words, thus: ἠκαιἀποστῆθεσφινἐλύσατοκέστονἵμαντ απαποικίλονἐνθαδέοἰθελητήριαπἀντἐτέτυκτο. For the second quotation the first few letters only are printed, thus: ὦχἑκατόγχ, with the words *et caetera* immediately following. For the remaining passages the Greek letters are omitted entirely, in this edition and in all later editions.[2]

The *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro end with the seventeenth line, *Hoc . . . . addit*, and there is no indication of a different

[1] I have examined the several editions in the following copies: 1st, University of Chicago and Harvard; 2d, Newberry, Annmary Brown Memorial, and Library of Congress; 3d, Library of Congress; 4th, University of Chicago and Harvard; 5th, Library of Congress; 6th, University of Chicago and Harvard; 7th, Harvard; 8th, Harvard. Hortis, pp. 769–70, mentions also a compendium printed at some time before 1500. For Hecker's partial print from the second autograph, see above, p. 65, n. 2.

[2] Hecker examined the editions of 1497, Paris 1511, and 1532 in this regard: *op. cit.*, p. 97, n. 1. I have examined the other five editions.

[2] On the printing of Greek passages in Latin books issued before 1476, see R. Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (=Bibliographical Society, *Illustrated Monographs*, No. VIII), Oxford, 1900, pp. 24–48.

authorship for that line.   These statements apply also to the printing of the *Versus* in all later editions in which they are contained.

The first 12 quires in this edition are of 10 leaves each; and in these quires each full page has 41 printed lines.   The thirteenth quire has, however, 12 leaves (ff. 121–32); and in this quire each full page has 42 printed lines.   Quires 14–18 have 10 leaves each; quire 19 has 6 leaves; quires 20–22 have 10 leaves each; quires 23–25 have 8 leaves each; and quires 26 and 27 have 10 leaves each.   In quires 14–27 each full page has 41 printed lines.   Both sides of f. 242, the last leaf of quire 25, are blank.   This leaf stands between chapters 18 and 19 of Book XIV.   There is no textual reason for the leaving of space at this point: it is simply an instance of bad planning in the assignment of material to quires.   The text of the *Genealogia* ends on f. 259r.   The Index begins on f. 259v.   The colophon appears on f. 295v.[1]

Hortis notes two varieties of this edition, the second variety being more correct in text in the first 50 pages.[2]

In the next year, 1473, Wendelin of Speier printed an edition of the *De Montibus* uniform with the 1472 edition of the *Genealogia*.[3]

REGGIO, 1481

This edition and all later editions contain both the *Genealogia* and the *De Montibus*.

This edition, in the part containing the *Genealogia*, agrees with the edition of 1472 in contents, in the fact and size of the spaces left for the trees, in the retention of the first tree rubric, as modified, and in the omission of the other tree rubrics from the text.   It agrees in the treatment of the Greek quotations, except that the accents and breathings are omitted, and that five additional errors appear in the first passage: σηθεσφιν for στηθεσφιν; ελνσατο for ελυσατο; κευον for κεστον; θελητηραι for θελητηρια; and παητ for παντ.

The first 12 quires are of 10 leaves each; and in these quires each full page has 41 printed lines.   Comparison of this portion of the

---

[1] This edition has no signatures.   My statements as to the number of leaves in the several quires are taken from Marie Pellechet, *Catalogue général des incunabules des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Vol. II, Paris, 1905, p. 30, No. 2466.

[2] The Chicago copy is of the first variety.   The Harvard copy is of the second variety.

[3] Hortis, p. 774, No. XV.

edition with the corresponding portion of the edition of 1472 shows that each page in the 1481 edition bears exactly the same material as the corresponding page in the 1472 edition.

The thirteenth quire in the 1481 edition has 14 leaves (ff. 121–34); but in this quire the distribution of the material is such that the quire as a whole contains exactly the same material as the corresponding 12-leaf quire in the 1472 edition. The numbers of the printed lines on the several pages of this quire are respectively: 41, 41, 42, 42, 39, 39, 37, 37, 41, 39, 41, 39, 41, 41, 40, 41, 41, 41, 35, 41, 40, 35, 36, 40, 42, 42, 40, 0. Spaces are left between chapters in such a way as to bring the total page length to the equivalent of 40 or 41 lines. F. 121r corresponds exactly to f. 121r of the 1472 edition, but f. 121v contains a few less words than f. 121v of the 1472 edition; and from that point on the disparity increases up to f. 133v, which ends with the same word as f. 131v of the 1472 edition. F. 134r bears the same material as f. 132r of the earlier edition; and f. 134v is blank (being reserved for the tree of Book VIII), as is f. 132v of the earlier edition.

Quires 14–18 have 10 leaves each; quire 19 has 6 leaves; quires 20–22 have 10 leaves each; quires 23–25 have 8 leaves each;[1] and quire 26 has 10 leaves. In quire composition, therefore, the edition of 1481 follows that of 1472 exactly from quire 14 through quire 26. In all these quires each full page has 41 printed lines. Each page in this portion of the edition bears exactly the same material as the page of the 1472 edition, whose number is less by two. As in the 1472 edition, the last leaf of quire 25 (f. 244 in the 1481 edition) is left blank—a striking illustration of the mechanical nature of the copying.

Quire 27 has but 6 leaves (ff. 255–60); but in this quire the distribution of material is such that the quire as a whole contains exactly the same material as the first 13 pages (ff. 253r–59r) of quire 27 of the 1472 edition. The number of printed lines on each full page remains 41 throughout the quire. The saving in space is made by crowding the composition.

The text of the *Genealogia* ends on f. 260v, the last page of quire 27. F. 261r is blank. The Index begins on f. 261v. The colophon

---

[1] Hortis wrongly assigns 7 leaves to quire 25, being misled doubtless by the fact that the last leaf of the quire, f. 244, is blank.

appears on f. 297v. Each page of the Index bears exactly the same material as the page of the 1472 edition, whose number is less by two.

The text in this edition and in all later editions agrees with that of the second variety of the 1472 edition in the points in which the two varieties of that edition differ.

The portion of the edition of 1481 containing the *De Montibus* is separately paged. The pagination is identical with that of the edition of 1473, as inspection of the figures in the descriptions by Hortis will at once show. The *De Montibus* in the 1481 edition, however, lacks the last two sections: *De stagnis et paludibus* and *De nominibus maris*.

It is then evident that the edition of 1481 is a page-for-page copy of the 1472 edition of the *Genealogia* (except in quires 13 and 27), and of an incomplete copy of the 1473 edition of the *De Montibus*.[1]

VICENZA, 1487

This edition is printed in two columns, and is the only one of the editions to be so printed.

In the part containing the *Genealogia* this edition agrees with the earlier editions in contents, in the omission of the trees, in the retention of the first tree rubric as modified, and in the omission of the other tree rubrics from the text. It leaves small spaces for the first five trees, no spaces for the other eight. It does not attempt the Greek quotations, but leaves spaces for the first two.

The portion of the *De Montibus* contained in this edition ends at the same point as the portion contained in the edition of 1481.

It is then evident that the edition of 1487 is derived from that of 1481.[2]

VENICE, 1494

This edition, in the part containing the *Genealogia*, agrees with the earlier editions in contents.

[1] Hortis, p. 777, says: "Questa edizione, tuttochè migliore quanto alla punteggiatura, è quanto alla lezione men corretta della Vindeliniana, e fu cagione di parecchi errori, accolti poi dalle edizioni successive. Per le citazioni del greco è inferiore alla stampa del 1472." The genealogy of the editions, as established by this paper, will show that the errors of this edition can hardly have affected any later edition except that of 1487. Hortis' statement as to the Greek passages is a careless generalization. He seems in general to have inspected only the first Greek passage in the several editions.

[2] Hortis, p. 778, says: "Questa edizione segue il testo della Reggiana."

In this edition the genealogical trees are finally achieved, and that fact is announced in the title: *Genealogiae Ioannis Boccatii: cum demonstrationibus in formis arborum designatis.* The trees correspond in general to those of the second autograph and the Chicago MS. It is therefore evident that the designer based his trees upon those in a MS or MSS of the *Genealogia*, or upon trees entered by hand in a printed copy which were themselves derived from a MS source. Two main differences appear, however: the initial circle in each case contains a portrait or symbolic image of the divinity in question; and all the trees except those for Books I, III, and VIII bear scrolls instead of leaves. For purposes of comparison with later editions it may be noted that the portrait of Demogorgon in Tree I shows a rather old man with a clearly defined crown; that in Tree IX the scroll for Hebe springs alone from the main stem; that in Tree XII the head of the dart is not inked in; and that in Tree XIII the dart is held in the right hand of Jupiter. The names in all trees are printed in Gothic letters. Over each tree is placed that one of the *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro which refers to the book in question. The first tree rubric no longer appears in the text.

In this edition and in the next three editions the perfection and the regular alignment of the letters in the names printed in the leaves and scrolls indicate that these names were printed from type set in cavities in the blocks.

The treatment of the Greek quotations is like that of the first edition, except that the accents and breathings are omitted, and that two additional errors occur: σηθεσφιν for στηθεσφιν in the first passage, and εχατογχ for εκατογχ in the second passage.

The pagination is quite different from that of the earlier editions.

The *De Montibus* stands complete in this edition.

It is then evident that the edition of 1494 is derived from the 1472 edition of *Genealogia* and the 1473 edition of the *De Montibus*.

VENICE, 1497

This edition agrees with that of 1494 in title, in contents, and in the treatment and errors of the Greek passages. The trees are very evidently imitated, tree for tree, from those of 1494. Tree I,

however, bears scrolls instead of leaves, and the names in Trees I, III, and VIII are printed in Roman letters. Minor variations in drawing appear: for instance, the portrait of Demogorgon in Tree I shows a rather young man, with a scarcely visible crown.

In pagination this edition agrees exactly with that of 1494. This fact is suggested by inspection of the figures in the descriptions by Hortis, and may be confirmed by comparison of any two correspondingly numbered leaves.

It is then evident that the edition of 1497 is a page-for-page copy of that of 1494.[1]

PARIS, 1511 (August)

This edition adopts a more elaborate title: *Genealogie Johannis Boccacij cum micantissimis arborum effigiacionibus cuiusque gentilis dei progeniem, non tam aperte quam summatim declarantibus Cumque praefoecunda omnium quae in hoc libro sunt ad finem tabula.*

In contents it differs from its predecessors by the presence of some editorial material and by the omission of the Table of Rubrics and of the *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro after the Alphabetical Index.

The editor, Ioannes Kierherus, in a letter printed on the verso of f. 1, promises a collation of editions:

Itaque velim, Humanissime Gotfride sic tibi persuadeas: me diligentissime collatis exemplaribus: eam operam daturum: vt boccacius, si non omnibus (quis enim omnia Argi more peruideat) tamen plurimis mendis vindicatus: quam emendatissime in publicum prodeat.

In a final note *ad lectorem*, just before the colophon, he asserts that the true readings have been restored in many cases.

The trees are virtually the same as in the two preceding editions. In respects in which those editions differ, the Paris edition agrees with that of 1494: Tree I bears leaves, not scrolls, and the names in Trees I, III, and VIII are in Gothic letters; the portrait of Demogorgon shows a rather old man with a clearly defined crown. New variations in drawing appear: for instance, in Tree IX the scroll for Hebe is detached from the main stem and joins the scroll for Hyperulus, and in Tree XII the head of the dart is printed in solid black.

[1] Hortis, p. 780, says: "Questa edizione non segue il testo della Reggiana."

The treatment and errors of the first Greek passage are exactly the same as in the two preceding editions.   The second Greek passage is omitted.

F. 1r bears the title, and f. 1v editorial material.   The Prœmium begins on the recto of what is actually the second leaf (the Table of Rubrics being omitted, as stated above).   This second leaf, however, is numbered VI, as in the two preceding editions, and all later leaves are numbered accordingly.   From the second leaf on, this edition agrees exactly in pagination with the two preceding editions. This fact is suggested by inspection of the figures in the descriptions by Hortis, and may be confirmed by comparison of correspondingly numbered leaves.

It is then evident that the edition of Paris, 1511, is a page-for-page copy, save for the minor variation in contents, of that of 1494.[1]

The omission of the *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro must have been deliberate.   The leaf of the 1494 edition which bears the *Versus* must have been complete in the copy used by the Paris printer, since the material on the verso of that leaf is completely represented. The omission was perhaps due to a feeling that since most of the lines appeared earlier in the edition as superscriptions for the trees a repetition at this point would be undesirable.

VENICE, 1511 (November)

This edition agrees with those of 1494 and 1497 in title, in contents, and in the treatment and errors of the Greek passages, except that the second word of the first passage becomes ακι instead of και.

The trees are virtually the same as in the three preceding editions. In respects in which the editions of 1494 and 1497 differ, the edition of Venice, 1511, agrees with that of 1497: Tree I bears scrolls, and the names in Trees I, III, and VIII are printed in Roman letters. The new variations of the Paris edition are not represented in that of Venice, 1511.

[1] Hortis, p. 782, wrongly says of this edition: "Con alberi genealogici propri."   He notes, p. 783, the peculiar numeration of the second leaf, but evidently does not understand its cause: "Nell' esemplare di mia proprietà, e negli altri veduti da me, il foglio secondo porta erroneamente il numero VI, laddove la segnatura è esattamente *a. ij.*"

The colophon claims a revision of the text:

Habes lector peritissime: Ioannis Boccatii deorum genealogiam nouiter multis erroribus expurgatam: et in pristinum candorem deductam.

In pagination this edition agrees exactly with those of 1494 and 1497. This fact is suggested by inspection of the figures in the descriptions given by Hortis, and may be confirmed by comparison of correspondingly numbered leaves.

It is then evident that the edition of Venice, 1511, is a page-for-page copy of that of 1497.[1]

BASLE, 1532

This edition, edited by Jacob Micyllus, differs in many respects from its predecessors. The title is quite different. The volume contains, first, editorial material; second, a new Alphabetical Index prepared presumably by Micyllus himself; third, the Table of Rubrics; fourth, the *Genealogia*; fifth, the *De Montibus*. The *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro do not appear after the *Genealogia*.

In the introductory editorial letter Micyllus asserts that he has corrected many textual errors, states that he has rewritten some passages, and indicates knowledge of a single earlier edition:

Deinde autem, quod ad nostram operam attinet, pleraque in hoc, ita nunc emendauimus, atque restituimus, ut si nostrum Bocatium, cum eo qui ab alijs ante excusus habetur comparaueris, ab innumeris, adeoque incredibilibus mendis ac uitijs repurgatum depraehendes. Non enim modo uoces hic atque illic quasdam expleuimus, aut immutauimus, id quod in alijs plerumque fieri solet, sed totas alicubi fabulas retexuimus, suisque ueris, et a doctis ac ueteribus traditis, capitibus, ac locis restitutas rescripsimus.

Trees III, IV, VI, and IX–XIII agree exactly, in every detail of the design, with the corresponding trees of the Paris edition. When corresponding trees are placed and studied side by side, it is evident beyond a possibility of doubt that the printer of the Basle edition used for these trees the actual blocks used by the Paris

[1] Hortis lists and treats the edition of Venice, 1511, published in November, before that of Paris, 1511, published in August. He says, p. 781, "Con alberi genealogici differenti da quelli dell' edizione veneta di O. Scoto (1494), uguali a quelli dell' edizione veneta di Manfredo da Streuo (1497)." Both the *differenti* and the *uguali* imply too much. Hortis quotes C. Clément, *Bibliothèque Curieuse*, Vol. IV, Hanover, 1753, p. 331, n. 69, as saying of this edition: "elle paroît avoir été faite sur celle de 1497, dont elle a conservé les fautes." Prince d'Essling, *les Livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVᵉ siècle et du commencement du XVIᵉ*, Part I, Vol. II, Florence, 1908, p. 240, says of this edition: "12 arbres généalogiques, mauvaises copies des bois de l'édition 1494."

printer. The only differences of any sort that I can detect are a
few corrections in the spelling of names, and these very differences
confirm the recognition of the fact that the same blocks were used,
for the corrections are made in nondescript letters, evidently cut for
this special purpose, and are made in such a way that as little as
possible of the old name has to be cut out. Tree IV, for instance,
has six corrections. Whereas the Paris edition had

Borream, Oetam, Purpureum, Piridilem, Chroniam, Phytonem,

the Basle edition has

Boream, *A*etam, Purp*hyrionem*, *Proy*dilem, *Coronidem*, Phi*leto*,

the letters which I have italicized being the only ones that are
newly cut. I infer that the type used by the Paris printer for the
tree names had been so fastened as to become virtually an integral
part of the blocks.

The other five trees are, however, of a new and simpler sort.
Circles replace leaves and scrolls throughout, and names instead of
portraits or images appear in the initial circles. I infer that the
Basle printer was unable, perhaps because of loss, to secure the Paris
blocks for these five trees.

For the first Greek quotation Micyllus gives in the text the full
four lines. For the second and later quotations he enters no Greek
in the text. In the second and in most, but not all, later cases he
supplies the Greek passages, wholly or in part, in the notes appended
to the several chapters.

That Micyllus in preparing the text of his edition of the *Genealogia*
used only a single earlier edition, as indicated above, and that he
did not use a MS, is made evident by the following passage in the
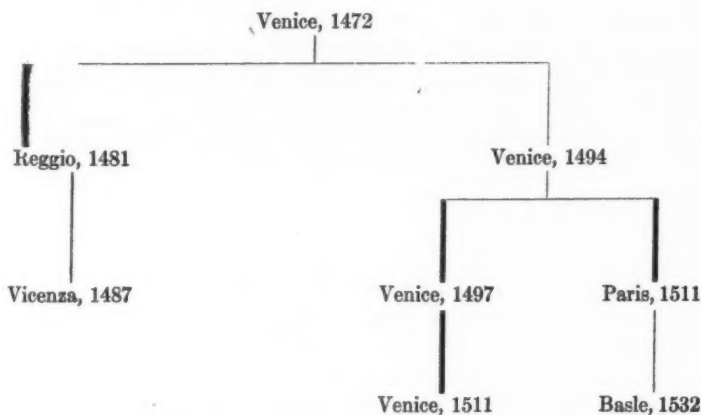introductory editorial letter which appears in his edition of Hyginus:[1]

Proinde cum superiore anno genealogias deorum, perinde ut a Bocatio
ante annos aliquot collectae fuerant, hortatu amici nostri Joannis Heruagii
relegissem et easdem ab innumeris mendis, quibus aeditio prior inuoluta
atque obruta erat, castigatas excudendas dedissem: atque idem nuper alium
quendam uetustum ac manu scriptum codicem, in quo per capita easdem res,
atque idem argumentum ab Hygino (sic enim inscriptus liber is erat) trac-
tabitur, uisendum et quoad eius fieri potest, emendandum quoque et
restituendum dedisset, ego . . . . uolui laborem hunc meum excellentiae
tuae . . . . dedicare.

[1] Basle, 1535.

The use of the Paris blocks for eight of the trees, the omission of the second Greek passage from the text, and the omission of the *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro make it evident that the Basle edition was based on that of Paris.   The presence of the Table of Rubrics shows that some other edition was used to supply that particular material.[1]

CONCLUSION

We have then the following stemma for the editions, a heavy line indicating a page-for-page copy:

```
                        Venice, 1472
         ┌──────────────────┴────────────────────┐
         │                                        │
   Reggio, 1481                              Venice, 1494
         │                              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
         │                              │                   │
   Vicenza, 1487               Venice, 1497          Paris, 1511
                                       │                   │
                                Venice, 1511         Basle, 1532
```

The four Venetian editions, it will be seen, constitute a direct line of descent.

From the foregoing material it is evident that all editions of the *Genealogia* are derived directly or indirectly from that of 1472.   My examination of the editions shows no indication that any editor of a later edition had recourse to a MS, except that the editor of the edition of 1494 may have derived his genealogical trees from a MS source.   The mechanical dependence of each edition upon a predecessor indicates in general that MSS were not used.   Micyllus

[1] Hortis, p. 389, n., says that this edition "ommette più volte i caratteri greci."   It omits them, as indicated above, in every case except the first.

certainly did not use a MS. I see no indication that the textual emendations announced in the last three editions are anything more than conjectural.

The edition of 1472 is then the best printed representative of the Vulgate text of the *Genealogia*, and should be cited, in preference to the edition of 1532, for all portions of the *Genealogia*, except those printed by Hecker from the autograph,[1] and for any citation in which the reading of the Vulgate text as against that of the autograph is desired.[2]

ERNEST H. WILKINS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[1] See above, p. 65, n. 2.

[2] Hortis calls the edition of 1532 the best (pp. 389, n., 785). He himself notes that the edition of 1472 is *abbastanza esatta*, and that at certain points it gives a better reading than that of 1532 (p. 773); and that the edition of 1532 "si allontana assai spesso da' codici più autorevoli" (p. 785); and he quotes (*ibid.*) Clément (*Bib. Cur.*, Vol. IV, p. 333, n.) as saying: "Micyllus n'a pas toujours été heureux dans ses corrections, parce qu'il n'a pas conféré les diverses Editions de Bocace, qui avoient vû le jour avant l'an 1531, et qu'il a donné trop hardiment lieu à ses coniectures."

NOTES ON THE STATUS OF LITERARY PROPERTY, 1500-1545

At the opening of the sixteenth century printing in Europe was still a new and unregulated craft. Rights in literary property had become somewhat confused because of the survival of the mediaeval custom of selling or renting for copy the manuscripts of the classics, and because of the fashion of circulating "privately" in manuscript the works of living authors. Opposed to the survival of these customs of the past were the urgent needs of printers and publishers for a basis of definitely traceable ownership of copy which would make publishing possible as a commercial enterprise. When the publishers of printed books began to pay living authors for new manuscripts, both publishers and authors felt more keenly the need of means of defending themselves against unauthorized and piratical publications of their works.

There were as yet no definite laws of a statutory nature concerning copyright. Nor were the printers' guilds in any country before 1545 so powerful as to be a recognized and effective medium of control. Aside from the universities, which exercised a local control over their resident stationers, the chief aids in safeguarding rights in literary property were the city authorities and the leading men in church and state. Appeals to these authorities were not infrequent in the first half of the sixteenth century, a period marked by a very lively and unprincipled competition among printers, a keen sense of ownership on the part of those wronged, and an experimental procedure on the part of writers, publishers, and all authorities concerned in the attempts to handle individual cases.

The necessity of some control of literary property may be seen from the fact that in 1500 there were in Venice alone about two hundred competing printers.[1] The first attempt at regulation was by the special privilege for a particular work, which gave exclusive copyright. The system was established in Italy as early as 1469,

---

[1] Ed. Frommann, *Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Buchhandels im 16. Jahrh.*, Heft II (Italien), p. 15. Jena: Frommann, 1881.

when Johann von Speyer secured from the Venetian senate his rivilege for the *Epistolae familiares* of Cicero.[1] An author's privilege was, so far as is known, not granted until September 1, 1486, when Sabellico secured one for his *Decades rerum Venetiarum.* Most of the very early privileges were for editions of the classics; but by 1517 the balance had already swung in favor of "new" works, that is to say, works that were strictly original or works that had not yet been privileged. By an odd confusion of ideas new editions of classics already in print seem for a time not to have been regarded as "new" works.[2]

The ineffectual operation of both the local privilege granted by the Senate and the theoretically more powerful and extensive privilege granted by the Pope is illustrated by the wholesale piracies of works published by the great humanist, Minutius Aldus. A printer at Breslau counterfeited one of his works, using the imprint of Aldus' edition at Florence. Again, several printers at Lyons closely imitated, even to the use of part of Aldus' imprint, many numbers of the popular series of Latin and Italian texts in the little octavo with the cursive types, which Aldus had been putting out in lots of a thousand or so at three *marcelli* a volume.

In October, 1502, Aldus sent a petition to the Senate of Venice for better protection of both books and types. In this he commented upon the merits of his establishment (the running expenses of which were about two hundred ducats a month); he described the beauties of his types—the Greek types with a ligature which appeared to have been made with a reed pen, and the cursive Roman types which looked like handwriting—and the marvelous diligence and accuracy of his workmanship, which reflected credit upon the city of Venice. After recounting the injuries done him by the Breslau edition with its counterfeited imprint of Florence and by the Lyons imitations making use of his name, imprint, and

---

[1] Maria Pelligrini, *Della primi origine della stampa in Venezia* (Venice, 1794), p. 7.

[2] Salvioni, *La proprietà letteraria nel Veneto* (1877), p. 11. The protection of authors developed earlier in Italy than elsewhere, unless it may have been in Germany. By 1545 Italian authors were incidentally benefited by a requirement that no work be licensed for publication without the written consent of the author or his representatives, submitted to the Rifformatori, a commission from the University of Padua serving as censors for non-theological works. (R. Bowker, *Copyright: Its History and Law* [Boston, 1912], p. 15.)

ERRATA

Page 80, line 14, *for* Minutius Aldus *read* Aldus Manutius.

Page 81, note 1, *for* Minuce *read* Manuce.

Page 82, line 3, *for* Dephinus *read* Delphinus.

Page 85, line 31, *for* zy *read* zu.

Page 89, line 7, *for* Bemuhungen *read* Bemühungen.

Page 89, line 8, *for* anfanglich *read* anfänglich; *for* Universitat *read* Universität.

Page 89, line 9, *for* zuruck *read* zurück.

Page 92, line 28, *after* Deutschland *insert* verbreiten.

epistle, he requested the Senate to forbid the manufacture of his special types by others and the counterfeiting of his editions in Italy or selling of such counterfeits imported from outside, under penalty of the loss of the labor on the books and a fine of two hundred ducats for each offense, a third of the fine to go to a charity, another third to the informer, and the other to the accuser.[1]

The petition was granted; and in the same year Aldus secured from Pope Alexander VI a ten-year privilege which forbade reprinting any book published by him or to be published by him in Greek or Latin, or printing any book in similar types, or importing such books from without, under penalty of confiscation, a money fee, and, in the case of Italian printers so offending, excommunication. The privilege was renewed in 1513 by Julius II for a term of fifteen years, and again in 1514 by Leo X.[2]

But even these large privileges (amounting practically to a monopoly) did not prevent the repetition of piracies. The public was warned against counterfeits in a *Monitum* issued by Aldus March 16, 1503/4, on a folio sheet, in which, after speaking of his high ideals for the publication of the classics, he enumerates the obstacles he has met in their fulfilment through the treachery of his own workmen and the counterfeiting Lyons printers. A list of spurious works is followed by a statement of the differences between the spurious and the genuine texts:

Quater iam in aedibus nostris ab operis; & stipendariis in me conspiratum est: duce malorum omnium matre Auaritia: quos Deo adiuuante sic fregi: ut ualde omnes poeniteat suae perfidiae. Restabat: ut in Urbe Lugduno libros nostros & mendose excuderent: & sub meo nomine publicarent: in quibus nec artificis nomen: nec locum, ubinam impressi fuerint, esse uoluerunt: quo incautos emptores fallerent: ut & characterum similitudine: & enchiridii forma decepti: nostra cura Venetiis excusos putarent. Quamobrem ne ea res studiosis damno: mihi uero & damno: & dedecori foret: uolui hac mea epistola oēs: ne decipiantur, admonere: infra scriptis uidelicet signis. Sunt iam impressi Lugduni (quod scierim) characteribus simillimis nostris: Vergilius, Horatius, Iuvenalis cum Persio, Martialis, Lucanus, Catullus cum Tibullo: & Propertio, Terētius, in quibus ōibus nec est impressoris nomen: nec locus: in quo impressi: nec tēpus quo absoluti

---

[1] Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Alde Minuce* . . . . (Paris, 1875), p. 227.

[2] A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde* (Paris: Renouard, 1803), I, 505–6; II, 15–17, 135; Firmin-Didot, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

fuerint. In nostris uero omnibus sic est: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi Ro. illo: uel illo tēpore. Item nulla in illis uisuntur insignia. In nostris est Dephinus anchorae inuolutus: ut infra licet uidere.

In addition to these obvious marks, Aldus notes that the paper is poorer and has a strange odor; that the types, though not displeasing, have a Gallic suggestion; that the capitals are malformed and the consonants stand without ligature. He even furnishes a list of typographical errors in the false texts.[1]

The Lyons pirates took advantage of Aldus' publication of their *errata* and issued new impressions containing corrected sheets. The Giunti of Florence also continued to counterfeit Aldine editions, making an imitation even of the anchor device.

Such daring piracy and counterfeiting as this can leave but one conclusion open—that the privileges in Italy, whether granted by Senate or by Pope, were popularly regarded as having only local force. Doubtless the warnings issued by the injured publishers were rather more effective in one way—in guarding their reputation and insuring that the discriminating, at least, would not purchase the spurious editions.[2] For in spite of partial disguises in new issues, the counterfeits must have been recognizable; for, even if new title-pages and corrected sheets were inserted, the paper and the fonts of type remained to betray them.

The separate issue of a warning notice of piracy, such as Aldus used, seems to have been a less common practice than the advertising of spurious work in the preface or dedication of a new edition issued by the rightful owner. An early example of such a use of the preface to the reader is that of Robert Whitinton (Wytynton, etc.), Oxford grammarian and poet laureate, in two of his works on grammar issued in 1533. Peter Trevers (or *Treveris*, of Triers) pirated several of Whitinton's works.[3] One was the *De heteroclitis*

---

[1] This *Monitum* was discovered by the Abbé Mercier de S. Léger in a Greek manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale with several of Aldus' advertising circulars. It is reprinted by Renouard, *op. cit.*, II, 207–11. Cf. also pp. 17–19 and Firmin-Didot, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[2] That there was a demand abroad for "Aldine" classics among the less-learned reading public appears in a letter of Glareau to Zwingli, October 19, 1516, which states that large quantities of genuine and imitated Aldines thrown upon the market had been caught up eagerly even by those too ignorant to understand them (Reber, *Beiträge s. Basler Buchdruckergesch.*, p. 86).

[3] On his copying Wynkyn's *Polychronicon*, 1527, see Ames, *Typ. Antiq.*, ed. Dibdin, III, 40.

nominibus: Grammaticae Whitintonianae liber tertius, published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1523.   Herbert describes a copy of Trevers' piratical edition in his possession as "without date and published without material difference except that in three or four places he has put the head-titles into the margin and so managed to print his edition on the same number of leaves in a larger type."   In 1533 Wynkyn issued a new edition *cum privilegio* (a precaution which he began to use about this time for many of his works).   On the verso of the title-page he printed, in the name of the author, this complaint and warning:

Whitinton to the Reader.

My kind Reader, that you have seen so many times the mangled features, the lacerated members, of my grammar, the craft of the extremely wicked Peter Trevers brought about, with the aid of his despicable paraphrast.   You may call them the dogs of the snake-haired Megaera, as they destroy my things, and she herself hurls the firebrand, Tisiphone harasses the crafty minds and hearts with furies, stirs up in them Cerberean madness (the helpless mind is driven about like a mill forever turning), and causes them to show my things turned out thrice badly.   But at length the grammar, snatched from the savage jaws of monsters, has given itself into my keeping: healed by the hands of the Muses and the arts of Apollo, it now comes back entire, acceptable, properly polished—as is rightly our duty to the British youth.   Look with favor, dear Reader, upon our grammar, which has been put out from the press of our good Wynkyn and has been (?) recently polished by our file.   But cast out from your home, dear Reader, the very corrupt impressions of the thrice wicked Trevers.

In the same year, 1533, Wynkyn issued a new edition of the *De octo partibus* by Whitinton, originally published in 1527, and meanwhile pirated by Trevers.   The address to the reader in 1533 is as follows:

The work which the hateful carelessness of Trevers has besprinkled with blemishes, Reader, receive corrected in the smallest details.   If the care (?) of our revision is pleasing to you, or the quite painstaking press-work of my Wynkyn, reject the faulty copies of the dishonorable Peter Trevers, cherishing our revised ones in accordance with their merits.[1]

---

[1] Both these protests are reprinted, in an obviously corrupt form, in Herbert's edition of Ames, *Typ. Antiq.*, I, 186–87.   Professors John M. Manly and C. H. Beeson, of the University of Chicago, suggested a few emendations, and I made others to get a reading.   The changes do not alter any matters of fact.

No evidence appears as to whether, in connection with the issuing of privileges to Wynkyn for the later editions and the grammar's coming back safe into Whitinton's possession, "snatched from the savage jaws of monsters," there was any real reparation of the injury. But the printed warning to the reader was sometimes used as supplementary to other forms of procedure, as we have seen in the case of Aldus. It was so used also by Martin Luther when, in 1524–25, a compositor stole about half of the manuscript of one of his Bible translations and had it printed and for sale in Nürnberg before Luther could get his own edition completed. In a letter to the Rat at Nürnberg, dated September 26, 1525, Luther asked for action on the matter, naming the suspected printer, Johann Herrgott, who, he said, was lying in wait to seize upon the rest of the book. Luther begged the council to require the printers of Nürnberg at least to wait about two months before reprinting works published in other districts, and threatened (much as he would prefer not to have to name Nürnberg) to warn the robbers in an open letter if satisfactory action was not taken.[1]

The modesty of the request for an eight weeks' start for the publishers of Wittenberg before the works should be reprinted "ausser land" suggests that in Germany, as in Italy and England, printing rights may have been thought of as merely local. Reprinting of important works by their local printers may even have been encouraged by some city authorities because of civic ambition.[2]

The decision of the council of Nürnberg on October 7, 1525, provided for partial satisfaction of Luther's demands:

Item auff Doctor Martin Luthers schreiben soll man sich bei den puchtruckern erfaren, was seiner gemachten pucher durch sy nachgedruckt

---

[1] *Luthers Briefe* (ed. De Wette, 1856), Theil 6, s. 70. Cf. Theil 6, s. 78–79, and Theil 8, s. 69 and 381; also, *Börsenvereins für Gesch. d. deutschen Buchhandels* (Leipzig., 1878–98), I, 26 and 49.

[2] Though Luther's works were supposedly under the ban after the Imperial Edict of Worms, May 8, 1521 ("Wider Martin Luther Bücher . . . . auch Gesetz der Druckerey"), the Nürnberg Reichstag stated that it would carry out the prohibition "so viel wie möglich"—an ambiguity which may be significant in view of the piratical reprinting of Luther's translations of the Bible that year in Nürnberg. (*See* F. H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* (Bonn, 1883–85), I, 80–81, 108, *et passim*.) Cf. also F. Gess, "Versuchter Nachdruck des Lutherischen deutschen Neuen Testaments durch Jacob Thanner in Leipzig, 1524," *Börsenvereins*, XII, 302–3—a case where the city authorities pleaded that the "poor printer" be allowed to proceed after substituting certain features of Erasmus' translation.

und geendert seyen und darinnen ein ordnung geben, damit seiner pucher keins in ainer bestimpten zeit nachgedruckt auch bei den puchfuerern verschaffen, nichtst neus zu verkauffen vor und eche solchs besichtigt werd.[1]

Luther protested again on November 7, 1525, to the Nürnberg *Syndikus*, Lazarus Spengler, concerning the use of false imprints by the re-printer. This and the corruption of the text were forbidden by an order in the Ratsbuch dated May 11, 1532 (seven years after the protest):

> Allen Buchdruckern alhie soll bei iren pflichten bevohlen werden, wann sie hinfür Doctor Luthers und andre Buchlein nachdrucken wollen das sie den namen Wittenberg zu drucken unterlassen und die stat Nürnberg und ihre namen dafür setzen, auch sich besser correctur befleyssen, oder ein rat müsst mit ernstlicher straf gegen inen handeln.[2]

In the meantime Luther carried out his threat of publicity by prefixing a preface (Sig. Aii a) to his *Auslegunge der Episteln und Evangelien von der heyligen Dreykonige fest bis auff Ostern gebessert durch Martin Luther, Gedruckt zu Wittenberg MDXXV*, in which he likened the piratical printers to highwaymen and thieves:

> Gnade und Fride. Was soll doch das seyn, meyne lieben druckerherrn, das eyner dem andern so offentlich raubt und stillt das seyne, un undern andern euch verderbt? Seyt yhr nu auch Strassenräuber un diebe worden? odder meynet yhr, das Gott euch segenen und erneeren wird, durch solche böse tücke und stucke? Ich habe die postillen angefangen von der heyligen Dreykönige tage an, bis auff Ostern, so feret zu eyn bube, der setzer, der von unserm schweys sich neret, stilet meyne handschrifft ehe ichs gar ausmache, und tregts hynaus, und lesst es draussen um lande drucken, unser kost und erbeyt zu verdrucken. . . . . Du bist eyn Dieb. und fur Gott schuldig die widderstattung. Nu were der schaden dennoch zu leyden wenn sie doch meyne bücher nicht so falsch und schendlich zu richten. Nu aber drucken sie die selbigen und eylen also, das, wann sie zy myr widder komen, ich meyne eygene bücher nicht kenne. Da ist etwas aussen, Da ist versetzt, Da gefelscht, Da nicht corrigirt. Haben auch die kunst gelernt das sie Wittenberg oben auff etliche bücher drucken, die zu W. nie gemacht noch gewesen sind. . . . . Das sind ja bubenstück den gemeinen man zu betriegen, weyl von Gots gnaden wyr ym geschrey sind, das wyr mit allem vleys, un keyn unnutzes buch auslassen, so viel uns muglich ist. . . . . Es ist yhe eyn ungleych ding, das wyr erbeyten und kost sollen drauff wenden,

---

[1] Friedrich Kapp, "Gesch. d. deutschen Buchhandels bis in d. siebzehnte Jahrh.," *Börsenvereins* (1886), pp. 426–27.

[2] Kapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 426–27.

und andere sollen den genies und wyr den Schaden haben . . . . Man
kennet ja unseren buchstaben wol, darnach man sich richten und falsche
bücher von den rechten scheyden müge.[1]

There is no evidence that Luther received, or even attempted
to secure, any repayment of financial losses through the piracies,
though he was not above noting in his published protests that the
thieves were making money by the sweat of his brow—a monstrous
wrong. But he did recover his manuscript, published it, secured
action by the city to prevent repetition of the piracy, and broadly
advertised the theft and his attitude toward it. The case was long
remembered in the history of German publishing.[2]

It is often stated by writers on copyright that it was not until
the eighteenth century that there was any recognition of the legal
principle that the gift of a manuscript does not necessarily carry
with it the right to publish. While it may be true that the principle
was late in appearing in copyright *law*, and is true that it has been
wrangled over as recently as in the time of Pope, we need not sup-
pose that this very elementary principle of ownership burst upon
the astonished vision of the publishing world in 1710. A case that
will illustrate at the same time the legal attitude toward the prin-
ciple involved and a method of procedure by which a wronged
author might defend himself in part may be found in the history of
the publication of the *Emblems* of Andreas Alciat, a distinguished

---

[1] The original is in the Kirchenbibliothek at Frankenberg (Ph. Dietz, *Wörterbuch
zu Luthers deutschen Schriften*, Leipzig, 1870, I.L., Quellenverzeichniss No. 116). I
use a reprint in *Börsenvereins*, II, 64. The complaint continued to be printed in later
editions; but by 1545 it had taken the form of a more general but no less violent denun-
ciation of all piratical publishers, on the text of Paul's saying, "The love of money is
the root of all evil." A reprint of the 1545 protest is accessible in "Wider Hans Worst"
. . . . . *Kleinere Schriften Dr. M. Luthers*, Bielefeld, 1876, Band I. The reader may be
interested in comparing with the earnestness of this "Gott strafe" condemnation by
Luther a playful (if not really insincere) attack by Erasmus upon manuscript thieves.
It is in the preface to his *Opus Epistolarum*, 1536 (Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, I, lxxviii-
ix), where he protests against an alleged unauthorized publication of certain juvenilia,
characterizing the pilfering of manuscripts as an act of theft, sacrilege, forgery, libel,
treason, whose perpetrators deserve to be "suffocated with burned paper." In view of
Erasmus' dealings with his many publishers, which were questionable even according
to the publishing ethics of his day, one must take anything he says about pilfered manu-
scripts with allowance. It is, however, interesting to note that, like Luther, Erasmus
had a lively sense of authors' rights in literary property.

[2] There is a reminder of Luther in the Verordnung Kurfürst Christians von Sachsen,
1594, "Von den Buchhändlern und Buchdruckerrnn, "which calls *Nachdruck* a sin against
the seventh commandment and "hiermitt bey Peen verboten und abgeschafft." Luther
is specifically named in the *Gutachten der Leipziger Buchhändler*, March 30, 1667 (*Börsen-
vereins*, II, 53).

Italian lawyer and senator (1490–1550). Alciat had sent to a scholar, Conrad Peutinger, as a token of admiration, the manuscript of his *Emblems* together with a complimentary poem. On February 28, 1531, Henry Steyner, of Augsburg, put the *Emblems* in print, prefaced by this poem. The form of the work greatly displeased Alciat, and within two months Steyner issued a new impression, correcting the *errata* and changing borders and devices. But Alciat was not content with these improvements. Being a good lawyer (at a time when lawyers' minds were happily unclouded by a study of devious decisions such as are to be found in modern statutory copyright procedure), Alciat understood that giving away a manuscript did not imply abandonment of rights in it; and he proceeded to act upon this knowledge. He supervised a new edition by a celebrated Paris printer, Christian Wechel, in 1534. The printer stated that Alciat, being "scarcely able entirely to suppress" the earlier editions, had been persuaded to complete and revise his work for republication. Alciat dedicated the book to Philibert Baboo, Bishop of Angoulême, and criticized the corruption and poor workmanship of the previous edition, which "superioribus annis, idque, autoris iniussi, tam neglecté, ut ne quid grauius addam, apud Germanos inuulgatus fuit, ut illius minuendae existimationis ergô, à maleuolis quibusdam id fuisse factum, plurimi interpretantur."[1]

In the same year, 1534, Steyner got out a new edition professing to be revised by Alciat, probably in an effort to compete with the authorized edition. It is doubtful whether Alciat took measures to suppress this. Possibly he felt that his edition with its condemnation of the apparently malevolent ill workmanship of Steyner could hold its own against a third unauthorized edition. Whatever may lie back of the statement that Alciat was "scarcely able entirely to suppress the two earlier editions," it is clear from a letter written on another occasion that Alciat felt the righting of the text to be the chief consideration. Again the complaint concerning a publisher is addressed to a bishop, this time the Bishop of Bologna:

A publisher has recently put out my book under the title *Si certum petatur*. I would not be so vexed about it if only more pains had been taken

---

[1] *Andr. Alciati Emb. Fontes Quat.*, a facsimile by Henry Green. Manchester: A. Brothers, for the Holbein Society, 1870.

to put the edition into the purchasers' hands in a less corrupt form. But there are lacking in the impression not only single sentences but in one spot whole pages.[1]

Alciat's procedure in the case of the *Emblems* shows that a writer had it in his power to repudiate unauthorized issues of his work, have it correctly reprinted with an advertisement of the spurious editions, and register complaint with the bishops, whether or not the manuscript had been given away by the author. Evidence is lacking as to whether the bishops gave him any assistance.

Even an authorized publication was repudiated in England a few years later by Coverdale, who withdrew the use of his name, of a dedicatory letter, and of his translation from the Bible as printed by James Nicolson in 1537–38, on the ground that John Hollybush[2] had published the work in his absence without keeping his agreement to follow a true copy of the Latin and English texts. Coverdale republished the work through Grafton and Whitchurch in 1538, repudiating, in his dedication to Cromwell, the Hollybush edition of the Lent preceding (which was perhaps suppressed by authority, as Herbert says it is very rare). In 1538 there was also issued *The newe testament both in Latyne and Englyshe . . . . Faythfullye translated by Johann Hollybushe*, printed by James Nicolson, with the same types and paging as in the 1537 edition, but with every sheet newly composed and minor differences in the text.[3] As Coverdale admitted that he had authorized Hollybush to publish his work, the check placed upon the unsatisfactory edition was as strong as could be hoped for.

A successful legal protest against unauthorized reprinting of posthumous works was made about 1536 by the heirs of Ulric Zasius, a Swiss or German jurist (born at Constance, 1461) and a noted lecturer on law at Freiburg im Breisgau. Shortly after the death of Zasius, which occurred November 24, 1535, Nicholas

---

[1] Theodor Muther, "Dr. Conrad Lagus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des juristischen Studiums," *Jahrbücher für Gesellsch. u. Staatswissensch.* (J. C. Glaser), Band V, Heft 5, s. 419.

[2] Hans van Ruremund until 1535, when he took out letters of denization (E. J. Worman, *Alien Members of the Book-Trade during the Tudor Period*, L., for the Bibliogr. Soc'y, 1906, p. 56). He is probably one of the ignorant "Douchemen" so severely criticized by Grafton in his petition to Lord Cromwell for privilege in 1537 (Strype, *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, II, 285–87, App. xx; Ames, *Typ. Antiq.*, 1911).

[3] Ames, *op. cit.*, ed. Herbert, III, 1147–50; cf. I, 511–12.

Freigius (or Frey), who had been a distinguished scholar under Zasius at Freiburg and was himself a professor of Latin grammar there, published several of the jurist's writings under the title *Recensio editionum librorum Ud. Zasii posthumorum*. One son of Zasius was an able lawyer, and the heirs managed to suppress the publication promptly:

> So verdienstlich seine Bemuhungen sein mochten, so ernte er [Frey] doch anfanglich wenig Dank mit denselben. Die Universitat schickte ihm ein ihr gewidmetes Werk wieder zuruck, und die Erben des Zasius schlugen wegen eines andern sogar den Rechtsweg gegen ihn ein.[1]

An early discussion concerning the form under which strictly legal suits concerning literary property might be entered appears in the explicit mention of several possible complaints in 1543, arising out of the unauthorized publication of a work by Conrad Lagus, lawyer, ambassador, and lecturer on law at the university of Wittenberg. The work was an incomplete compilation of materials on law issued in folio by Christian Egenolf, originally under the title *Iuris utriusque traditio methodica, per clarissimum Iureconsultum Dr. Conradum Lagum, Ordinarium Vitebergensem publice praelecta* (as it appears on page 5 of the text), but changed (perhaps because of Lagus' protest) to *ex ore doctissimi Conradi Iureconsulti annotata*.

Lagus considered the publication a disgrace, and published a protest to defend his reputation and warn law students against dishonest speculators who cared only for gold, as might be seen from the fact that scarcely a sentence in the book was free from errors in grammar. The protest called forth a defense by the guilty publisher. The two documents are entitled respectively:

1. Protestatio Cunradi Lagi adversus improbus (?) suorum commentarium de doctrina iuris editionem ab Egenolpho factam. Gedani. (Mar.) 1544.

[1] Johann H. Schreiber, *Gesch. d. Albert-Ludewigs-Universität zu Freiburg im Bresgau* (1859), II, Theil 16, s. 330. I can find no account of the nature of the legal action taken; but lawsuits concerning literary property seem to have been prosecuted in Germany even before this time. Printing rights of some sort were judged at court in Basel as early as August 21, 1479, when Bernhard Inkuss got a judgment against Schöffer and others giving him possession of a long list of books and publishing rights in them for a certain district; the books seized from Schöffer to be marked by the mayor and his officials so that the people would know what had happened ("Archiv für Gesch. d. deutschen Buchhandels," *Börsenvereins* [1888], XI, 23–25, Nos. 101, 103, 110, 111). A suit definitely concerning piratical reprinting is that against Wendel Ruehell, or Rikel, defended in Strassburg in 1536 (*Börsenvereins*, V, 88–93).

2. Defensio Christiani Egenolphi ad Domini Conradi Lagi Iureconsulti protestationem, Francof.   (Sept.) 1544.

The following account is based upon extracts from these documents and from letters in the *Danziger Archiv* which are found in a study of Dr. Conrad Lagus by Dr. Theodor Muther.[1]

Lagus complained especially of the corruption of the text, which showed not only countless errors in style and grammar and typography, but insertions and omissions, and the fragmentary character which betrayed its origin in the jottings of lecture notes. Although he had dictated these materials to his students for their use, he had safeguarded his rights by forbidding them to publish his lectures, as he intended to complete and perfect the work when he should have found a patron to support him for the time.

Egenolf had applied for permission to print the book.   Lagus had not only refused consent, but cautioned him not to publish, threatening action for theft (*Protestatio* A, 26; and *Defensio Egen.* A, 4b and B, 1a).   Now that the publication had been carried out in spite of threats, Lagus proposed a charge of plagiary, since Egenolf, to evade reproach for theft of an unpublished mental property, had suggested that the compilation was publicly dictated by Lagus in the capacity of *Ordinariat* at Wittenberg; whereas Lagus protested that, although he did lecture there, he was not even a *Lehramt*, much less an *Ordinariat*.   The charge of plagiarism, said Lagus, would apply:

Denn da Plagianus der heisst, welcher einen fremden Menschen demjenigen in dessen Gewalt sich dieser befindet entzogen hat: was steht entgegen, dass dieses Verbrechens jener für schuldig erachtet werde, welcher wissend und sehend, dass er gegen meinen Willen und meinem Protest zuwider die Herausgabe meiner Commentarien vornehme, sich nicht abschrecken liess, sein Vorhaben auszuführen: das Vorhaben unter Missachtung meiner Ehre, meines Rufes, meiner Glaubhaftigkeit, wider meinen Willen meine Dictate sehr fehlerhaft zu publiciren.[2]

The judge would have to decide upon a fitting penalty for such a case.   Lagus suggests, however, a special form of legal remedy for purchasers who feel that they have been cheated by more than

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 394–425.   The interpretative comment is my own.

[2] Muther, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

half the value. If there are any, he says, "welche über die Hälfte verletzt zu sein glauben da der Inhalt des Buches dem Titel nicht entspricht, so können sie mit der Wandelklage (actio redhibitoria) wider den Verkäufer klagen." There is nothing in the way, he says, of applying the suit to book sales:

> Denn obwohl es bisher nicht üblich war, die Redhibition von Büchern abseiten der Verkäufer zu erlangen, wenn nach der Tradition sich herausstellte, dass dieselben fehlerhaft seien, so ist doch da jene Klage gegeben wird, damit der Käufer nicht durch die Arglist des Verkäufers getauscht wurde bezüglich eines verborgenen Fehlers des Viehes und eines nicht offenbaren Mangels der Waare überhaupt, kein Hinderniss, dieselbe auch Bücherkäufern zu gestatten.

But if there should be any question of the applicability of these suits to this case, the authorities of state might then exert themselves to restrain by laws (Gesetze) such unruliness of printers.

The apparent uncertainty as to what sort of suit was relevant seems to me to imply not a doubt as to the existence of any legal remedy, but a natural hesitation as to the choice of a form of suit which the tricky piratical printer could not evade. For Egenolf, having been refused permission to publish the manuscript he had managed to purchase, took extraordinary precautions to escape penalties by advertising in his preface that the copy was corrupt, that Lagus was not responsible for the publication—was, in fact, ignorant of it—and that the printer had laid himself open to the charge of *Nachdruck* for the reader's sake:

> Daher will ich vor allen Dingen das Zeugniss ablegen, nicht nur, dass Conrad Lagus diese Publication keineswegs veranlasst, sondern dass er nicht einmal etwas davon gewusst hat. Denn wenn er geneigt gewesen ware, seine bessernde Hand anzulegen, so würde zweifelsohne das Buch weit correcter und in allen Beziehungen vollkommener in die Oeffentlichkeit gelangt sein. Darauf habe ich mit Nachdruck aufmerksam machen wollen, damit der Leser, wenn ihm Dunkelheiten oder sonstige Unvollkommenheiten aufstossen, dies nicht etwa dem Lagus als Nachlässigkeit anrechnet, sondern vielmehr der Fehlerhaftigkeit der Abschrift, welche mir in die Hände kam, zuschreibt. . . . . Herr Conrad Lagus wird über die Veröffentlichung des Buches in dieser Gestalt nicht ungehalten sein dürfen, denn dieselbe geschah nicht, um Jemand Unrecht zu thun, sondern sicherlich nur zur Bequemlichkeit der Studirenden und zum Vortheil der Wissenschaft.

451

In his *Defensio* Egenolf took the position that the author's publication of his work in manuscript and by lectures justified others in multiplying copies in print (his position with regard to public lectures anticipating the attitude of English copyright lawyers some centuries later). If Lagus had only kept his manuscript upon his own desk, reasoned Egenolf, matters would have been far otherwise. But the work was to be found everywhere in the libraries of students. Why, then, make such a disturbance over the publication of a book already spread abroad and sold by the author to those to whom he dictated? To a text progressively corrupted by copying in manuscript printing could only be advantageous, as the reprinted version could be gradually purified of error. Pains had not been spared in the work. It was wrong of Lagus to say that scarcely a sentence was free from errors. The name of Lagus had been printed, not for commercial reasons, but to give due credit to the author. The use of the title *Ordinariat* was simply a mistake. If Lagus was greatly vexed over this, he might strike it out or, for that matter, repudiate the whole *Methodus;* for, said Egenolf, "die studenten freuen sich über das Buch und fragen nichts nach dem Verfasser."

To the charge of plagiarism Egenolf replied that, if he had wished to act secretly, he could have published anonymously or without the printer's name. Instead, he had acted openly. No sensible person could blame him for having had something for his pains. Besides, the suit for plagiarism would not hold against such as he, for

Dieses vergehen sei bloss an freien Menschen möglich, nie an Sclaven, und sei nicht abzusehen, wie an dasselbe bei diesem durch ganz Deutschland Buch gedacht werden könne.

He added the taunt,

Lagus habe es auch unterlassen, die Klage, mit der er gedroht, anzustellen.

It is surprising, he said, that Lagus published this Pasquill filled with threats and insults when the much more honorable way of the lawsuit stood open to him. If he did not wish to institute a suit, he should at least have refrained from insult.

As for the entering of a *Wandelklage*, that would be impossible, said Egenolf, because in his preface he had distinctly stated that the print was from a corrupt copy unauthorized by Lagus. After enumerating unprotested publications involving offenses much greater than his, Egenolf expressed his opinion of the applicability of the *Wandelklage* thus:

Gegen den, welcher im bösen Glauben eine fremde Sache öffentlich feil halt, als wenn der Eigenthumer das erlaubt hatte, möchte die Wandelklage eher zulässig sein.

There are two possible interpretations of the nature of the *Wandelklage* proposed by this sixteenth-century lawyer. In its older and broader meaning it was merely a form of suit which permitted the retraction of errors, and was applicable to all kinds of cases. This usage may be illustrated in Germany as early as 1281 and as late as 1516. If, as is barely possible, Lagus used the word in this old loose way, he was merely proposing a safeguard to the purchaser (for any kind of action he might take) against the formalism of the legal procedure of the time, by entering a kind of suit that could not be lost or nonsuited by a mere technical error such as a flaw in the wording of a statement of the case by advocate or plaintiff. The danger of non-suiting or loss of suit seems to have been based on a mediaeval rigidity of attitude toward the sanctity of the statement under oath ("Ein Wort ein Wort"—a man under oath must speak the truth, and may not alter or take back what he has once uttered before a judge).[1] The *Wandelung*, however, gave an opportunity for the retraction of error. It was sometimes made at once, but at least in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seems to have been a sort of retrial before a special court set once

---

[1] R. G. Siegel, "Die Erholung und Wandelung im gerichtlichen Verfahren," Wiener Akademie, *Sitzungsb. d. phil.-hist. Cl.*, XLII (1863), 201–44; cf. also his "Die Gefahr von Gericht und im Rechtsgang," *ibid.*, LI (1865), and an explanation of the necessity of *Erholung* or *Wandelung* by Richard Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 709 ("Der geringste Form verstoss," etc.). Other illustrations of the early uses are as follows: A. Kohler, *Zur Geschichte des Rechts in Alemannen; Beiträge zur German. Privats-rechts-Geschichte*, III, 1888; Freiberger Statuten, XXXI, 16 and 17 (Schott, III, 255); Culm, *Rechtsbuch*, II, 83a and V, 73; Haltaus, Glossar c. 590 (a fifteenth-century decision); Benecke and Müller, *Mittelhochd. Wörterbuch*, concerning the meaning of *dinget das Wandel;* a request for such a suit in *Rheinhart Fuchs*, ed. Grimm, vss. 1370–74; a similar and more formal declaration by Nicholas Wurms: "Hyrre her richter ich dinge ym holunge und wandil"; *Blume des Sachsenspiegels*, Nr. 45 (Homeyer, pp. 366–67).

or twice a year, when he who wished *iteracionem sue cause, que vulgo erholunge dicitur, habere poterit.*[1]

There is a rarer, but much more applicable, meaning of *Wandel*, which applies specially to laws of purchases, contracts, etc., with the meaning of a right to recall a bargain or contract if it is found (usually within a fixed period) to be unfair, very disadvantageous, or made under false pretenses. In 1448 a recall was provided for contracts made in drunkenness or on an unfair occasion.[2] Also, a person selling property was required to allow twenty-four hours for the purchaser to consider his bargain:

Swelher burger erb und eigen verkoufen wil, der sol dem kouf den wandel dingen von einem mitten tag ze dem andern und daz wandel sol ietweder der kouft oder verkouft haben den kouf abzesagen.[3]

The privilege extended to horse sales and even to ordinary shopping:

"Wär aber das niht Wandel an dem kauff gedingt wurd, so hat ains iglichen hausfraw, der chaufft oder verchaufft, den chauff von ainem mittentag zu dem andern auch abzesagen."[4]

The choice of meaning for *Wandelklage* lies between (1) a form of suit which gave the right to retract errors or appeal the case because of manifest injustice (both being precautions against the formalism of legal procedure), and (2) a legally recognized right to return defective goods purchased in ignorance of their defects. Though the first meaning is the commoner, the second is clearly more applicable to the case of Lagus; for he has given as the Latin equivalent *actio redhibitoria*, which concerns the return of a thing found bad or defective (a practice apparently as old as Cicero: *In mancipio vendendo dicendane vitia, quae nisi dixeris redhibeatur mancipium jure civili*). This interpretation is also favored by Lagus' remarks urging the relevance of the complaint to book sales, which suggest that he has in mind a law governing sales under false pretenses, as well as by Egenolf's statement that the suit is not applicable because he has made no false pretenses but has correctly advertised the defects.

---

[1] Siegel, *op. cit.*, 238. Two such sessions of court are mentioned for Bayreut in *Bayreuther Verordd.* of 1720 and 1728, cited by Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, II, 937.

[2] Ingolstädter Ratschluss, Cgm. 240 f. 70, cited by Schmeller, *loc. cit.*

[3] Münch. str. art. 448, cited by Benecke and Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 697.

[4] Schmeller, *op. cit.*, II, 937.

Lagus died within seventeen months after the publication of Egenolf's defense. No evidence has been found to indicate that he carried out the threatened lawsuits. Indeed, in the *Protestatio* Lagus admitted that, because of the abundance of error, he would not attempt to set the text right, and that he lacked both leisure and money to complete it for publication. Still, the fact remains that one of the leading men of law published in 1543 threats of three forms of legal suits for violation of an author's rights, and that his threats called forth a serious (though tricky) defense from the accused. The suit for theft (*Diebstahlklage*), the pirate thought, would not apply because he had bought, not stolen, the manuscript, and because the lectures, being already in circulation, were in a sense published (a difficulty which has stood for centuries in the way of protecting rights in spoken discourse). The charge of plagiarism (*Plagiat*), which we may guess would have been the most applicable, apparently gave the guilty printer more concern; for he resorted to the evasion that he was technically disqualified by birth for appearance in such a suit, in addition to the genuine argument that he had not taken the author's work without giving him credit. The *Wandelklage*, as we have seen, he objected to as inapplicable because he had frankly confessed in his preface that his text was unauthorized and from a corrupt copy. As to which, if any, of these evasions would then have held in law one can only speculate. Certainly as foolish ones have turned decisions in nineteenth-century lawsuits concerning dramatic copyright. At any rate, one can see in these ingenious evasions of the piratical printer and in his precautions some reasons why a busy author might be slow to seek legal redress. Lagus, a great lawyer, though convinced that he had at hand legal remedies if he chose to use them, apparently contented himself with the printing of a repudiation and a protest.[1] This should make us careful not to assume that, whenever the mild form of protest was employed against unauthorized publication, it was because no legal remedy bearing on the case had yet been conceived.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO   EVELYN MAY ALBRIGHT

[1] If Lagus' work was on the list of forbidden books before he died, this may explain the failure to take action. Paris 51 refers to a Paris edition of 1545, and Lyons 50 to a 1546 edition (F. H. Reusch, *Der Index d. verbotenen Bücher*, I, 119–20).

MILTON AND THE PSALMS

In April, 1648, before he became blind, Milton translated from the original "into meter" nine Psalms (80–88), and in 1653 eight more (1–8) were "done into verse."[1] The earlier attempt was an experiment in accurate translation; the later one, an experiment in versification.[2] Probably Masson was right in assigning as a motive for the translation of 1648 Milton's desire to improve upon the current versions of the Psalter, and in supposing that this aim determined the form which the experiment took. He used the ordinary service meter of eights and sixes, but rimed the first and third lines instead of merely the second and fourth, as was generally done. He translated directly from the Hebrew, italicizing words in the translation for which there was no Hebrew equivalent. The title reads, "Nine of the Psalms done into meter; wherein all, but what is in a different character, are the very words of the Text, translated from the original." The subordinate clause is rather misleading, for it implies a more literal rendering of the Hebrew than Milton attempted, or, at any rate, than he attained.

The most striking quality of the translation is the expansion of the original. Sometimes this is due to the free use of synonyms, as when Milton employs (in Psalm 82) four different words to render various forms of the Hebrew word שָׁפַט, meaning "to judge." In

[1] Upon Milton the Psalms seem to have exerted an early and lasting influence. At the age of fifteen, while a student at Cambridge, he translated into verse Psalms 114 and 136. Throughout his poetry are scattered allusions sufficient to prove how strong an impression they produced upon him. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, Bk. VII, 205–9 and 565–69, with Ps. 24:7–10; Bk. VII, 370–74, with Ps. 19:5; Bk. XII, 561–66, with Ps. 145; and *Samson Agonistes*, 932–37, with Ps. 58:4. In *Paradise Regained*, Bk. IV, 334–49, he gives his opinion of Sion's songs "to all true tastes excelling."

[2] Each is an experiment in a special meter. Ps. 1 is in heroic couplets; Ps. 2 is in "terzetti" or Italian tercets; 3 is in a peculiar six-line stanza of iambic quatrains and trimeters; 4, a different six-line stanza; 5, a four-line stanza of iambic tetrameter, trimeter, and pentameter; 6, an iambic pentameter quatrain; 7, a six-line stanza of iambic tetrameter riming ababba; 8, an eight-line stanza riming ababcdcd.

80:6 he uses two words and a phrase to translate a single Hebrew
word יְלַֽעֲנוּ. Similarly Milton's

> . . . . I have trod
> Thy ways, and love the just:

are two words in the Hebrew, חָסִיד אָֽנִי (86:2). Again Milton's
"Whom thou dost hide and keep" renders the one Hebrew word
צְפוּנֶיךָ (thy hidden), 83:3. In 83:5 Milton's

> For they consult with all their might,
> And all as one in mind
> Themselves against thee they unite,
> And in firm union bind.

translates only seven words in the Hebrew.

Milton's translation is not only more expanded, but weaker in
diction, being considerably less concrete, more like eighteenth-
century diction, than the original.[1] "Cedars tall" take the place
of "cedars of God" (אַֽרְזֵי־אֵל) in 80:10; and "stately palaces,"
of "dwellings of God" (נְאוֹת אֱלֹהִים) in 83:12. The naïvely
simple "Open thy mouth wide (הַרְחֶב־פִּיךָ) and I will fill it" in
81:10 becomes

> Ask large enough, and I, *besought*,
> Will grant thy full demand.

Many of the words Milton italicizes as having no equivalent in
the Hebrew[2] are purely conventional and serve only to weaken the
effect. This is especially true of the adjectives. Cherubs are
"bright" (80:1), the nations "proud and haut" (80:8), the boar
"tusked" (80:13), the vine "lovely" (80:8), the psaltery "cheerful"
(81:2), the wood "aged" (83:14), the flame "greedy" (83:14),
captivity "hard" (85:1), and peace "sweet" (85:10).

---

[1] This tendency to substitute the vaguely generic for the concrete is evident in all
Milton's translation of the Psalms. "Flocks and herds" take the place of "sheep and
oxen" in 8:7; and "On God is cast my defence," of "On God is my shield" (מָֽגִנִּי)
in 7:10.

[2] Milton did not follow very closely his plan of indicating all the words not found
in the original. In 87:6, for example, though nine words in the translation have no equiva-
lent in the Hebrew, the fact is not shown by the printing. The same is true in 85:11,
where the words "and us restore" are not in the original.

Sometimes the interpolated words result in a gain in clearness. Thus the explanatory clause "like to a flower" in the rendering of 85:11 is justified by the light it throws on the meaning of תִּצְמַח, which does signify "to sprout, as a plant." In at least one instance, however, such a gain was purchased at the cost of turning the poetry into prose. This is in the rendering of 84:3, where, through the introduction of "by," Milton destroyed the apposition of מִזְבְּרוֹתֶיךָ (altars) with קֵן (nest).[1]

More often the interpolated qualifying words and phrases are chosen for their allusiveness. Thus in 80:1, where the Hebrew has merely יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִים (dwelling in the cherubim), Milton adds "Beneath their wings outspread," alluding to the lid of the ark of the covenant, upon which knelt two golden cherubs, their wings meeting above. In 83:6 Ishmael is called "scornful Ishmael" in allusion to the story in Genesis (21:9) of Ishmael's mocking laughter. The same chapter of Genesis (vs. 20) supplied the suggestion for Milton's insertion in 83:7 with reference to the Hagarenes, "That in the desert dwell." "Hateful Amalek" (vs. 7) alludes to Deut. 25:17-19; and "Tyre, whose bounds the sea doth check," is an echo of Ezek. 27:4. "Kishon old" is "that ancient river, the river Kishon" of Judges 5:21. The words Milton supplies in 88:5-6 appear to have been suggested by Ezekiel's taunting elegy (chap. 32) over Egypt's overthrow, where those "slain in bloody fight" are described as cast down "unto the nether parts of the earth, with them that go down to the pit."[2]

There seems to be no question that the Vulgate influenced Milton's translation considerably, and that some of his errors are due to its influence. To this may most reasonably be attributed the grammatical error in the rendering of 80:9:

Thou didst prepare for it a place,
And root it deep and fast.

[1] A quaintly grotesque effect is produced by the inserted line in 80:5:
And mak'st them largely drink the tears
Wherewith their cheeks are wet.
This suggests Milton's early fondness for conceits and recalls the "well instructed" tears of the lines of *The Passion* (48-49):
For sure so well instructed are my tears
That they would fitly fall in ordered characters.

[2] Invariably Milton translates רַהַב as "Egypt." In so doing he may have been influenced by Isaiah, for Rahab (pride) is the latter's favorite name for Egypt.

Here Milton followed the Vulgate, which gives *plantasti radices
eius*, whereas the form תִּשׁרֵשׁ is really feminine, and the sentence
unquestionably reads "It took deep root." The influence of the
Vulgate is also apparent in the translation of גַּלְגַּל as "wheel"
in 83:13 (Latin *rotam*). Though the word, which is derived from
גָּלַל, meaning "to roll," does sometimes mean "wheel," as in
Isa. 28:28, where it is applied to the wheel of a threshing wain, it
more usually denotes "that which is blown along by the wind," as
dust or chaff or thistledown. The modern Jewish translation and the
English revision both translate correctly as "whirling dust."
Again Milton follows the Vulgate in a mistranslation of 86:13,
where he renders מִשְּׁאוֹל (from the grave of the lower world) as
"lowest hell" (Vulgate, *inferno inferiori*). That this error is attrib-
utable to Latin influence appears the more probable from the fact
that Milton elsewhere thrice translates Sheol more accurately—
as "grave" in 88:3, as "pit" in 88:4, and again as "grave" in
6:5. Yet in 88:11 Milton renders בָּאֲבַדּוֹן (in the abyss) as
"perdition," again following the Vulgate, which translates *perdit-
ione*. Even where there is no inaccuracy, the Vulgate seems to
have influenced the diction, as in the case of the Miltonic compound
"Egypt-land," occurring twice in Milton's translation of Ps. 81,
which sounds like the Latin *Terra Ægypti*. In 85:6, again, Milton's

> Wilt thou not turn and hear our voice,
> And us again revive?

sounds like an echo of the Vulgate, *Deus tu conuersus uiuifi-
cabis nos*.

Had Milton followed the Latin more closely, he would in some
instances have avoided errors. In 85:12, for example, he renders
תִּתֵּן "shall throw," whereas the Latin *dabit* literally translates it.
In 82:1, also, Milton paraphrases

> God in the great assembly stands
> *Of kings and lordly states;*
> Among the gods on both his hands
> He judges and debates.

Here the Latin *Deus stetit in synagoga deorum: in medio autem deos dijudicat* accurately translates the Hebrew.[1]   In verse 13 of Psalm 85 Milton translates

> Then will he come, and not be slow;
> His footsteps cannot err.

Apparently conscious that this did not express accurately the meaning of the original, he added a note purporting to give the literal meaning as "He will set his steps to the way."   The form of the verb וְיָשֵׂם Milton evidently recognized as masculine, but did not recognize that צֶדֶק (righteousness) is a masculine noun and that therefore "righteousness" is the subject of the verb in both members of the parallelism.[2]   A different kind of error occurs in Milton's rendering of 82:7:

> But ye shall die like men, and fall
> As other princes *die*.

This seems to be the result of a misreading of the Hebrew, which gives אָכֵן כְּאָדָם תְּמוּתוּן וּכְאַחַד הַשָּׂרִים תִּפֹּלוּ.   Here Milton apparently mistook the word אֶחָד (one) for the closely similar אַחֵר (other).

Milton's opinions occasionally influence his interpretation, giving a turn to the thought quite different from that of the original. In 83:18, for example, he translates:

> Then shall they know that thou, whose name
>   Jehovah is, alone
> Art the Most High, *and thou the same*
>   O'er all the earth *art one*.

Here the italicized words, which, as Milton indicates, have no Hebrew equivalent, are suggested by his Arian opinions, and furnish an interpretation more Hebraic than the Hebrew text itself.   Similarly the capitalization of the phrase "Son of Man" in 80:17 implies

---

[1] The Syriac translator renders, "God standeth in the assembly of the angels, and in the midst of the angels will he judge."

[2] In Ps. 4:2 Milton renders בְּנֵי־אִישׁ (sons of men) as "great ones."   In 5:9 he awkwardly translates קִרְבָּם "their inside."   The word means literally bowels or intestines, because the abdomen was thought of as the seat of the emotions, but the Authorized Version's phrase "their inward part" is certainly preferable.   It should be borne in mind, of course, that these Psalms are not, however, among those which Milton claimed to be translating accurately.

Milton's belief, based perhaps upon the interpretation of the Targum, that the words were meant as a messianic forecast, whereas the phrase בֶּן־אָדָם (son of man) is here a personification of Israel, the verse being virtually a repetition of the fifteenth verse, but without the latter's symbolism.[1]

Of the completeness of Milton's equipment for translating the Psalms we have hitherto had no certain knowledge. We know that as early as 1625 he owned a Hebrew Bible given him by his tutor, Young. His poem *Ad Patrem*, written at Horton, gives his father credit for furnishing an opportunity to become acquainted with Hebrew literature. Such an acquaintance Milton seems to have believed essential to a liberal education. In his tract *Of Education* Milton, outlining a course of study for youth, mentions "the Hebrew tongue . . . . that the Scriptures may be now read in their original, whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldee and the Syrian dialect." This rather ambitious program he seems actually to have put in practice, for Edward Phillips says his uncle's pupils studied "Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac so far as to go through the Pentateuch . . . . in Hebrew, to make a good entrance into the Targum, or Chaldee Paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of Saint Matthew in the Syriac Testament." To the end of his life Milton seems to have retained his interest in Hebrew. Aubrey, in the notes he collected for a life of Milton, tells us that after he became blind he habitually began the day at 4:00 A.M. by rising and listening to a reading of the Hebrew Bible, after which he "contemplated."

Although Milton's acquaintance with the language and its related dialects is unquestionable, there is, nevertheless, nothing in his translation of the Psalms to indicate that his knowledge of Hebrew was at all unusual in that age when Hebrew was considered, with Latin and Greek, a necessary learned language.[2] He undoubtedly knew more about Hebrew than Pope did about Greek.

---

[1] A similar mistranslation occurs in 2:2, where Milton translates מְשִׁיחוֹ (his anointed one, viz., Israel's king) as "his Messiah dear." Milton's well-known preference for extempore prayer, expressed in *Paradise Lost*, Bk. V, 145–49, influenced the rendering of 5:3, where he translates אֶעֱרָךְ (prepare) as "rank."

[2] A knowledge of the three "holy" languages—Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—was deemed an essential part of the education designed to supply antagonists capable of

Yet, from what has already been said, it should be apparent that his knowledge of Hebrew was not inerrant, that he was not independent of the help the Vulgate might furnish, and that he did not recognize the errors into which his dependence occasionally misled him. His acquaintance with Hebrew was a literary rather than a linguistic or scholarly one. It enabled him to appreciate the distinctive beauties of Hebrew poetry, but did not furnish an adequate equipment for the task he set before himself.[1]

<div align="right">EDWARD CHAUNCEY BALDWIN</div>

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

---

meeting Catholic opponents in disputation. In 1644 Parliament provided, "after advice had with the Assembly of Divines," that in the case of candidates for the ministry "trial be made of skill in the Original Tongues by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testaments and rendering some portions of them into Latin."

[1] Perhaps a consciousness of his inadequacy to the task may account for Milton's having given up (assuming that he ever entertained it) his intention of translating the entire Psalter. Yet Milton did not need to feel ashamed of his accomplishment. Landor's witty comment is absurdly unjust when he said "Milton was never so much a regicide as when he lifted up his hand and smote King David." Milton did not murder the Psalms in translating them.

JAQUES IN PRAISE OF FOLLY

In *As You Like It* Shakespeare follows a custom rather common in his plays of adopting his plot and characters with little modification from some earlier work and then adding a group of subordinate characters not found in his main source. These are often comic characters and may be drawn either from life or from some other literary source than that used for the main part of the play. In the case of *As You Like It* the story follows quite closely Lodge's euphuistic novel *Rosalynde*. The chief variation from the novel is to be found in the introduction of one of the most interesting and puzzling characters in the play, Jaques, and a group of fools and rustics who furnish material for his melancholy philosophizing; none of these is to be found in Lodge's story.

In general, Shakespeare's fondness for fools and clowns is a survival from the literature of the early part of the sixteenth century. The growing distrust of the philosophy and learning of the Middle Ages at that time produced a large amount of satirical literature intended to show the folly of the professional wise men by contrast with the real wisdom of those usually accounted fools. Most famous and most influential of the books on fools were Brant's *Narrenschiff* and Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*. For more than a century the latter remained among the most popular of books. It may be assumed without hesitation that Shakespeare was acquainted with it; but I believe that the introduction of the characters above referred to into *As You Like It* was directly due to the dramatist's reading of Erasmus' satire.

Jaques is a man of the world in whom contemplation of its follies has produced weariness and a conviction that fools are really the only class of mankind worthy of envy and admiration. This conviction he expresses in various forms:

> O noble fool!
> A worthy fool! Motley's the only wear! . . . .[1]
> O that I were a fool!
> I am ambitious for a motley coat.[2]

[1] Act II, scene 7, ll. 33–34.   [2] Act II, scene 7, ll. 42–43.

He is of the opinion that fools have more freedom of speech than others have:

> I must have liberty
> Withal, as large a charter as the wind,
> To blow on whom I please; for so fools have;
> And they that are most galled with my folly,
> They most must laugh.[1]

This is a thought expressed at length in the *Praise of Folly;* the following is typical:

Sed abhorrent à vero Principum aures, dixerit aliquis & hac ipsa de causa, sapientes istos fugitant, quòd vereantur ne quis fortè liberior existat, qui vera magis, quàm jucunda loqui audeat. Ita quidem res habet, invisa Regibus veritas. Sed tamen hoc ipsum mirè in fatuis meis usu venit, ut non vera modò, verùm etiam aperta convitia cum voluptate audiantur, adeo ut idem dictum, quòd si à sapientis ore proficiscatur, capitale fuerat futurum: à morione profectum, incredibilem voluptatem pariat.[2]

Jaques' defense of this freedom of ridicule seems very similar to Erasmus' at the close of his Preface:

> Why, who cries out on pride,
> That can therein tax any private party? . . . .
> Or what is he of basest function
> That says his bravery is not on my cost,
> Thinking that I mean him, but therein suits
> His folly to the mettle of my speech?
> There then; how then? what then? Let me see wherein
> My tongue hath wrong'd him. If it do him right,
> Then he hath wrong'd himself. If he be free,
> Why then my taxing like a wild-goose flies,
> Unclaim'd of any man.[3]

Jam vero ut de mordacitatis cavillatione respondeam, semper hæc ingeniis libertas permissa fuit, ut in communem hominum vitam salibus luderent impune, modo ne licentia exiret in rabiem. . . . . At enim qui vitas hominum ita taxat, ut neminem omnino perstringat nominatim, quæso utrum is mordere videtur, an docere potius, ac monere? Alioqui quot obsecro nominibus ipse me taxo? Præterea qui nullum hominum genus praetermittit, is nulli homini, vitiis omnibus iratus videtur. Ergo si quis extiterit, qui sese læsum clamabit, is aut conscientiam prodet suam, aut certe metum.

[1] Act II, scene 7, ll. 47–51.

[2] Quotations from the *Praise of Folly* are given from the edition printed at Basel in 1676, the only edition now available to me. This quotation is from p. 78.

[3] Act II, scene 7, ll. 70–87.

Notes in the various editions to the line in the same scene as the quotations already given,

> Call me not fool till heaven hath sent me fortune,

point out that this line is a reference to the proverbial partiality of Fortune for fools; this is to be found in the *Praise of Folly* (pp. 191–92):

Nam id quo pacto fieri queat, cùm ipsa etiam Rhamnusia, rerum humanarum fortunatrix, mecum adeo consentiat, ut sapientibus istis semper fuerit inimicissima? contra stultis etiam dormientibus omnia commoda adduxerit?

A note on this quotes the "common proverb": Quo quisque est stultior, hoc est fortunatior.

Touchstone's conversation with Silvius on the foolish things that love causes men to do and his list of his own absurdities when in love, in the fourth scene of the second act, seems to be suggested by the following passage:

Jam num alio nomine, viris magis commendatæ sunt, quàm stultitiæ? Quid enim est quod illi mulieribus non permittunt? At quo tandem auctoramento, nisi voluptatis? delectant autem non alia re, quàm stultitiâ. Id esse verum non ibit inficias quisquis secum reputârit, quas vir cum muliere dicat ineptias, quas agat nugas, quoties fæminea voluptate decreverit uti.[1]

In the first scene of the fifth act Touchstone remembers a saying: "The fool doth think he is wise, but the wise man knows himself to be a fool." References to Socrates' remark on this subject are to be found in the *Praise of Folly* (cf. p. 107, note):

Socrates modestiæ causâ dicebat, se nihil scire, ridens arrogantem sophistarum professionem, qui se jactabant nihil nescire, hinc Academici nihil affirmabant, sed quod ubique probabile viderent, id sequebantur. Porro Socrates, *in apologia*, dicit se putare idcirco ab Apolline judicatum omnium sapientissimum, quòd se nihil scire sciret.

These various points of similarity all have to do with one topic, folly. The probability that they represent borrowings by Shakespeare from Erasmus rather than mere parallelisms would be very much increased if it could be shown that there are other likenesses in the two works in the expression of thoughts on some topic not

[1] P. 32.

necessarily connected with folly. This can be done. The most famous of Jaques' speeches is that beginning:

> All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players.
> They have their exits and their entrances,
> And one man in his time plays many parts.

This is practically a paraphrase of a passage in the *Praise of Folly* (p. 55):

Porrò mortalium vita omnis quid aliud est, quàm fabula quæpiam, in qua alii aliis obtecti personis procedunt, agúntque suas quisque partes, donec choragus educat è proscenio? Qui sæpe tamen eundem diverso cultu prodire jubet, ut qui modò regem purpuratum egerat, nunc servulum pannosum gerat.

Earlier in Erasmus' satire is to be found an account of the various stages of human life very similar to Shakespeare's, though not definitely divided into exactly seven ages. The following is the description of the "last scene of all" (p. 22):

Alioqui capillorum albor, os edentulum, corporis modus minor, lactis appetentia, balbuties, garrulitas, ineptia, oblivio, incogitantia, breviter omnia cætera congruunt. Quóque magis accedunt ad senectam, hoc propiùs ad pueritiæ similitudinem redeunt, donec puerorum ritu, citra vitæ tædium, citra mortis sensum emigrant è vita.

With this is to be placed a similar description (pp. 62–63):

Mei nimirum muneris est, quòd passim Nestoreâ senectâ senes videtis, quibus jam ne species quidem hominis superest, balbos, deliros, edentulos, canos, calvos, vel ut magis Aristophanicis eos describam verbis, ῥυπῶντας, κυφοὺς, ἀθλίους, ῥυσοὺς, μαδῶντας, νωδοὺς καὶ ψωλοὺς.

The first of these is the more interesting in that it comes at the end of an account of the various ages, some sentences of which I give:

Principio quis nescit primam hominis ætatem multò lætissimam, multóque omnibus gratissimam esse? Quid est enim illud in infantibus, quod sic exosculamur, sic amplectimur, sic fovemus . . . . ?

Deinde quæ succedit huic adolescentia, quà est apud omnes gratiosa, quàm candidè favent omnes, quàm studiosè provehunt, quàm officiosè porrigunt auxiliares manus?

Mentior, nisi mox ubi grandiores facti, per rerum usum, ac disciplinas virile quiddam sapere cœperint, continuò deflorescit formæ nitor, languescit

alacritas, frigescit lepos, labascit vigor.   Quóque longius à me subducitur, hoc minùs minusque vivit, donec succedat τὸ χαλεπὸν γῆρας, id est, molesta senectus.

A further parallel, interesting because it is concerning quite a different subject, is to be found in Rosalind's complaint against Cupid at the end of the first scene of the fourth act, as "that blind rascally boy that abuses everyone's eyes because his own are out." Cf. *Praise of Folly* (p. 36):

An non Cupido ille omnis necessitudinis autor & parens, prorsum oculis captus est, cui quemadmodum τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται, itidem inter vos quoque efficit, ut suum cuique pulchrum videatur, ut cascus cascam, perinde ut pupus pupam deamet.

In view of these various resemblances it is worth consideration whether the following note, found on the same page as the comparison of human life to a drama, is not the suggestion for Jaques' puzzling reference to a "Greek invocation to call fools into a circle":

Notum est illud Diogenis, qui cùm conscenso suggesto, subinde clamasset velut concionaturus, ἀκούσατε ἄνθρωποι, id est, *audite homines.* Jámq; frequens multitudo concurrens, juberet quæ vellet proloqui. *Ego*, inquit, *homines convocavi, in vobis quid hominis video?* significans non esse dicendos homines, qui more brutorum animantium affectibus ducerentur, non ratione.

<div align="right">JOHN D. REA</div>

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

SPENSER'S LINGUISTICS IN *THE PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND*

The influence of Spenser's Irish environment upon *Colin Clout* and upon the parts of *The Faerie Queene* that were written while he was with Grey's government at Dublin, and especially while he was one of the "undertakers" at the lonely manor of Kilcolman, is somewhat *terra incognita*. Kilcolman, far beyond the English pale, in the midst of the old Desmond country, under the shadow of Arlo Forest still inhabited by "wild Irish" who had escaped the terrible vengeance for the late insurrection—Kilcolman gave excellent opportunities for the gathering of Celtic lore in spite of the stringent legal barriers against marriage and equal social intercourse, in spite of race hatred, on the one hand, heightened by the recent massacres, and in spite of Spenser's contempt, on the other hand, of the native Celt, heightened no doubt by his own respectable official capacity.[1] To trace actual influences of bardic poems in Spenser requires a knowledge of Celtic literature to which the present writer lays no claim; and a complete definition of Spenser's comprehension of things Celtic is beyond the scope of the present study; but an investigation of Spenser linguistics promises to throw some light upon his knowledge of Celtic languages, of Irish manners and customs, and of Anglo-Irish legal procedure.

Such a study promises to bear fruit, not only as contributing to Spenserian biography and criticism, but also as throwing some light on the grasp that English officialdom of the period had of Irish life and institutions. Spenser's *Present State* is the best known of several contemporary documents dealing with Anglo-Irish affairs. Morley has edited a series including, besides Spenser, four lucubrations by Sir John Davies, the attorney-general for Ireland, and one by Fynes

[1] R. W. Church in his life of Spenser (*English Men of Letters Series*) gives a vivid account of the condition of Ireland at the arrival of Lord Grey (pp. 56 ff.), of the effect on Spenser (pp. 68 ff.), and of Spenser's apparent dealings, official and unofficial, with the Irish (pp. 72 ff.). His discussion of *The Present State of Ireland*, with its "odd and confused ethnography" (p. 172), is also of value.

Moryson, Secretary to Lord Mountjoy.[1]   We have, moreover, Derrick's *Image of Ireland* (1578) and a tract on the Exchequer (1601).[2] During the latter sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries Ireland was the political danger spot of the British dominions; and Bagwell[3] clearly shows the wretched condition of the Irish, both Saxon and Celt, and the grave difficulties confronting the Lord Lieutenant and his administration at Dublin.   Spenser, Lord Grey's secretary, Clerk of the Council in Munster, author of one of the chief historical documents of the period, is a figure of political import; and it is valuable to know just how far he comprehended the Celtic civilization that lay about him.

At the very outset Spenser himself seems to have supplied the answer at least to the linguistic side of the problem; for, in *The Present State*, he twice implied that he knew no Irish: first when he blamed the early English settlers for learning the language,[4] and again when he said: "I have caused diverse of them [bardic songs] to be translated unto me that I might understand them."[5]   But one must not build too readily upon these statements.   In the first place, the stringent laws against the Celticizing of the English colonists would hardly encourage Spenser to admit, in a document intended for English official consumption, just how much Irish he knew; and, in the second place, the necessity of giving orders to retainers in his household and of carrying on legal procedure in the courts must have forced upon him some understanding of the despised tongue[6]—not enough, probably, for him to read or hear intelligibly the flights of Irish poetry with their imaginative figures and tropical diction, but still, perhaps, a slight conversational and some legal vocabulary.

[1] *Ireland under Elizabeth and James the First*, London, 1890.   See also Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, London, 1617, Part I, p. 274; Part II, pp. 1–300; Part III, pp. 156–64, and C. Hughes's *Shakespeare's Europe*, London, 1903, pp. 185 ff.

[2] See Somer's *Collection of Tracts*, London, 1809–15, ed. by Sir Walter Scott, I, 558, 283.   *Ancient Irish Histories*, Dublin, 1809, contains Campion's *History*, which comes down to 1571 and throws some light on contemporary Irish affairs.

[3] *Ireland under the Tudors*, London, 1890.

[4] P. 637, Morris edition.   I use the Morris edition (1869) rather than the first edition by Ware (1633) because the former has a better text.   See Morris' *Preface*, iii–iv.

[5] P. 641, Morris edition.

[6] Cf. the Norman conquerors of England, who, in time, had to learn more and more English, seemingly for the mere convenience of holding direct intercourse with their inferiors.

Of the words that Spenser etymologizes in *The Present State*, several are probably not of Celtic origin; but as he ascribes some of them to this source, and as others, though foreign loan-words, were legal terms current in the Ireland of his own day, it seems wise to give them some attention before passing on to words of more probably Celtic derivation. The list contains five examples: *cesse, folkmote, liverye, paletine,* and *Scot: folkmote* is of OE origin; and the others seem to be, so far as we can trace, Latin.

Whether Spenser considered *cesse* an Irish word is doubtful. He calls it an "imposition," and by way of illustration mentions "cesses of sundrye sortes": "the cessing of souldiours upon the countrey," and "the imposing of provision for the Gouvenours house-keeping. . . . ."[1] In the first illustration it appears to mean *billet*, and in the second, *tax*.[2] NED. lists this form of the word as localized, especially in Ireland, describes it as an aphetic form of *assess*, and so derives it through the OF *assesser* and the LL *assessare* (*to assess*), from the CL *assidere* (*to sit by*). The sense of *billet* may easily have been derived in England or Ireland from the essential and original idea of *tax* or *imposition*. Spenser, so far as he goes, seems to be correct. It is worth noting, furthermore, that, in this sense of *billet*, the word seems to combine the meaning of the Irish *coygnye* and the Romance *liverye*, both of which this paper will take up in due course.

Folkmote[3] Spenser defines as "a place for people to meete or talke of any thing that concerned any difference betwene partyes and towneships . . . . "; and he derives it correctly from the "Saxon." The obvious source is the OE *folc-mot*, defined in NED. as "a general assembly of a town, city or shire." It appears in OE as a compound of *folc* (*people, nation, army*) and (*ge-*) *mōt* (*meeting, assembly, council*). It is not surprising that Spenser knew at least the meaning of this and the preceding term, for both must have survived in at least occasional legal use down to his own day.

---

[1] P. 643, Morris edition.

[2] This *cesse* seems in no way connected with the modern dialect *sess* or *cess*, as in "Bad cess to him," which appears to come rather from *success*. The loss of the first syllable in this word seems somewhat parallel to the case in point.

[3] P. 642, Morris edition.

Liverye[1] again is legal. Spenser associates it with *coygnye*, defines it loosely as "allowaunce of horse-meate," and says it is "derived of livering or delivering foorth their nightlye foode." He is not quite sure whether it is English or Irish in origin, but inclines toward the former hypothesis, probably because of the suggestion of relationship in *deliver*. He continues to explain:

So in great houses, the liverye is said to be served up for all night, that is theyr nightes allowance for drinke. And liverye is called the upper garment which servingmen weareth, soe called (as I suppose) for that it is delivered and taken from him at pleasure.

As a matter of fact, the origin of this word seems to be neither English nor Irish. The English, who seem to have brought the word into Ireland, got it from the OF *livrer* (*to give, to deliver*), whence, in turn, it comes from the VL *liberare, to set free*. *Livery*, in the sense of a servant's garments, is derived from the French *livrée, a gift of clothes*, from the same VL root. Spenser is right in suggesting a relationship with *deliver*, the source of which seems to be *deliberare, to give over*. NED. gives the English word the fullest possible meaning, and defines it in this sense as the "dispensing of food, provisions or clothing, or the food or provisions so dispensed." Spenser was right in associating these various derivatives from VL *liberare;* but he either did not realize or he did not bother to put down the French and Latin sources.

Spenser's use of *palentine* (palatine)[2] is of especial interest. He explains "county palentine" as follows:

It was (as I suppose) first named Palentine of a pale, as it were a pale and defence to theyr inner landes, soe as it is called the English Pale, and therefore also is a Palsgrave named, that is an Earle Palentine. Others thinke of the Latine *palare*, that is to *forrage* or *out-runn*, because the marchers and borderers use commonly soe to doe.

The derivation of *palentine* from *pale* seems to be the merest popular etymology. NED. quotes from Hatz. Darm. a fifteenth-century use of the LL *palatinus*, used as an adjective to mean *of or belonging to the palatium, or palace*, and used as a noun to mean *an officer of the palace, a chamberlain*. The correct derivation was not unknown

[1] P. 623, Morris edition.

[2] P. 621, Morris edition. Spenser carelessly cites the deponent *palor* with an active infinitive.

to scholars of Spenser's own day; and, indeed, Selden, in his notes to Drayton's *Poly-olbion*, Song XI, gives a short history of the four counties palatine of Elizabethan England, and goes on to say:

For the name Palatine, know, that in ancient time under the Emperours of declining Rome, the title of Count Palatine was; but so that it extended first only to him which had care of the Household and Imperial revenue. . . . .

Selden shows that the term spread to other great lords, and ends with a flourish of learned references.[1] So much for *palatine*. *Pale*, as the name was applied to the English Pales in France, Ireland, and Scotland, is etymologized in NED. as coming from the Latin *palus*, *a stake*, through the French *pal*. The reference to *Palsgrave*, however, is significant. NED. traces this back to a MHG *pfalzgrâve* and that to an OHG *pfalzengrâvo*, derived, in turn, from *pfalenza*, *palace*, and *grâvo*, *count*. NED. adds a valuable and suggestive note, that the Latin *palatium* appears to have been altered in Teutonic lands to **palantium*, whence come OHG *pflanza*, OS *palencea*, OE *palente*, *palendse* (fem.), and *palent* (masc.). The most recent use, however, in English, that NED. gives of the -*n*- spelling is in the middle of the sixteenth century; and unless Spenser spelled his word *palentine* in order to force the similarity with *pale* (and I think him not above doing that sort of thing), then his is one of the last uses of the word with the old, traditionally Germanic spelling and pronunciation. Selden, knowing the word's Latin spelling, naturally omitted the -*n*- very much, we may suppose, as the French philologists of the period prefixed an unhistorical *h*- to the OF *om*, *man*. It is not impossible that Selden is largely responsible for our present use of *palatine* in place of *palentine*. In short, Spenser's etymology from *pale* is rather certainly wrong. *Palsgrave* is, indeed, a cousin of *palentine;* but, though Spenser realized the similarity of meaning, I doubt whether he understood any etymological relationship. As for the derivation from the Latin deponent, *palor*, Spenser even seems dubious; and, indeed, he might well have been.

In like manner his etymology of *Scot*[2] seems fanciful. He takes it from the Greek "scotos," which he defines as "darkness." At least he seems right in that it is very likely not a Gaelic word.

---

[1] Drayton's *Poly-olbion*, London, 1876, II, 82.
[2] P. 633, Morris edition.

It first appears in inscriptions and authors in late classical Latin.[1]
The Irish form, *Scot*, plural, *Scuit*, seems to have come from this
source. The origin of the Latin has been variously traced: some
have suggested a rare ON plural, *skotar;* and Rhŷs thought it from
some form cognate to the Welsh *ysgwthr*, *to cut* or *carve*, and so *to
tattoo*. The Greek word for *darkness*, to which Spenser refers, was
written with an -o-, not ω; and one has no reason to suppose either
that there is any connection between that classic Greek word and the
medieval Greek with an -ω-, or that Spenser knew anything about
the latter. In short, his derivation is probably guessed from a chance
similarity.

One interesting thing about these etymologizings is their revela-
tion at once of the knowledge and of the ignorance of the day.
Spenser's interest in law and government easily explains his knowl-
edge of the meanings of such words as *cesse* and *folkemote;* but his
knowing the etymology of the latter seems a little surprising, until
one remembers that *The Shepheardes Calender* and its glosses show a
knowledge, extensive, if not always accurate, of ME words and their
ways.[2] French he seems to have ignored as a source of English
words; and Latin also he ignores, curiously enough, even in fairly
obvious cases. It must be called to mind, however, that these words
are chiefly of LL extraction, and that Spenser was living in the age
that produced a Cardinal Bembo who would not read even his
Vulgate for fear of corrupting the Ciceronian purity he affected.
It might well take a man of Selden's stamp to recognize a word of
the latter empire. Spenser's definitions are correct; but his ety-
mologies are sulphurous of the limbo of popular philology.

The remaining words that Spenser discusses are probably, if
not certainly, of Celtic origin: some are legal terms; some, proper
names; some, miscellaneous common nouns. Such dictionaries as
Macbain and that of the Highland Society have been of use on the
Gaelic side; Pughe and Strachan, for Welsh; Williams, for Cornish;

---

[1] The Latin form *Scottus* first appeared, says NED., in writers c. 400. There was a
variant *Scôtus* (like the Med. Greek form Σκῶτος) which became the usual form in Med.
Latin; and a third form, *Scôtus*, seems to have arisen. It may represent a native name
for the Celtic peoples concerned. See Holder's *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*. Cf. Keating's
History (I.T.S.) I, 228–31.

[2] See study by the author in current number of the *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*

and Dinneen, Lane, O'Reilley-O'Donovan, and Coneys, for Irish. Of course, NED. is often helpful; and, as far as possible, these general reference books have been supplemented from O'Curry's *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, and similar treatises and documents both modern and Elizabethan. The suggestions of Professor F. N. Robinson, of Harvard, and of Professor T. P. Cross, of Chicago, have been particularly valuable. Many of the etymologies are uncertain; and some are so obscure as to reduce hypotheses almost to a matter of guesswork. Of course, Macbain, incomplete as he is, gives fairly trustworthy etymologies for Scotch Gaelic; but in the Irish field there is nothing of even his scope or excellence; and so, until something further is accomplished in the way of complete and reliable reference books, a study like the present can only too easily fall into a quicksand. For most of the words, however, at least one plausible explanation can be found, and some judgment of Spenser's etymology is possible.

The first of the Irish legal terms is *coygnye*.[1] Spenser defines it as "man's meate," and pairs it off with *liverye*. The derivation, he says, is "hard to tell": "Some say of coyne, because they used commonly in theyr Coygnyes, not only to take meate, but coyne also." Spenser, however, thinks the source is Irish. As to definition, he is not quite clear: *coygnye*, he explains, "is a common use amongest Irish landlords, to have a common spending upon theyr tenauntes"; and again he defines it as "violent taking of victualls upon other men's tenauntes against their willes."[2] As a matter of fact, the term is a very old one. It appears in Irish literature long before Spenser's day,[3] and seems to be present even in a doubtful passage in old Irish law.[4] The regular sense in these cases is *to billet*. Davies' use of the word, dated 1612 in NED., is quite the same as Spenser's; and NED. gives an extended note, and derives it from the OI *condem, condmin*,

---

[1] P. 623, Morris edition.

[2] P. 624, Morris edition.

[3] See *The Táin Bó Cuailnge* from the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, p. 3, and the Bodleian *Amra Choluimb Chille*, *Revue Celtique*, XX, 42. These texts are of uncertain date, but the substance of both is probably of the Old Irish period. There is a further reference to *condmedim, I billet*, in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, sub anno 1310.

[4] O'Curry and Atkinson, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland*, Dublin, 1865–1901, IV, 348. This, apparently, is not the same word as the common *coingi*, as in *coingi comna, to obtain communion*, O'Curry and Atkinson, I, 266.

to billet. Professor Robinson suggests rather the related *condmad* or *condmedim.* In short, Spenser is correct in that he understood what was probably the chief meaning of the word in his day, and in that he assigns an Irish derivation. The knowledge of the former he doubtless gained from his official position, for the word was in vital use in the law of his day; the etymology was probably not much more than a reasonable guess. Of ancient Brehon law, per se, he seems to have known little, and of ancient Irish culture, nothing.

Kin-cogish,[1] the second of Spenser's legal terms in Celtic, he explains as follows:

that every head of every sept and every chief of every kindred or familye should be answerable and bound to bring foorth every one of that kindred or sept . . . . when he should be required or charged with any treason. . . . . It is a woord mingled of English and Irish together.

Kin-, says Spenser, is English; and *-cogish* the sign of affinity in Irish. At first sight one might suppose that *kin-* was related either to the English *kin* or perhaps to the Celtic *cineadh* or *cinne,* meaning tribe or clan; and either of these hypotheses would lend at least some support to Spenser's etymology. As a matter of fact, *kin-* seems to be none of these things. *The Ancient Laws of Ireland* again comes to the rescue, at once proving the word venerable, and supplying a fairly certain etymology: the term is translated "crime of relative";[2] *cin-* means *crime;* and *-cogish* is an anglicizing of the word *comfocus, relative.* Gilbert[3] gives the Irish spelling as *cean coguis,* but regularly uses the more common English form, *kincogus.* He states that the term originated in ancient Brehon law, quotes an example of its use in 1571 in a document written by an Irish legist, James O'Scingin or O'Sgingin, for Sir Edward Fyton, president of the province of "Connacht," and explains that, as late as the reign of Charles II, "Kincogus warrents" were issued by his government at Dublin for the purpose of reducing or "cutting off by the sword" some Irish in Ulster. In short, the custom and the name that designated it seem to have been in use in Ireland from early antiquity down at least to the latter seventeenth century. Spenser apparently

---

[1] P. 624, Morris edition.
[2] *Anc. Laws and Inst. of Ireland,* VI, 137; see also Keating's *History,* ed. Comyn I.T.S.), London, 1902, I, 69.
[3] J. T. Gilbert's *National MSS of Ireland,* London, 1884, p. 177 ff.

understood the actual working of the law.   His etymology of *kin-* seems to have been led astray by a false analogy in English; but his explanation of *-cogish* as "the sign of affinity in Irish" is probably right.

The third of the Celtic legal terms is "tanistih," usually spelled *tanistry*,[1] the custom of choosing the successor of a chief during his lifetime from any member of his family.   Here Spenser seems to have gone quite wrong as to etymology, although, of course, he understood the sense of the word.   He naïvely suggests that it comes from "tania," a root appearing in Aquitania, Lusitania, Britannia, Dania, and meaning a "province or segniorye."   He continues to elucidate:

For sure it seemeth that it came anciently from those barbarous nations that over-ranne the world, which possessed those dominions, whereof they are now so called.   And so it may well be. . . . .

Of course, the first-declension *a-* or *-ia* was commonly used for the names of provinces and countries in both classical and low Latin; but obviously a preceding *-an-* or *-tan-*, as appears in cognate forms, is part of the root, and has nothing to do with this ending.   The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, for instance, divides the third of the words cited by Spenser: Britan(n)+ia; and whether the word be from the Greek πρεττανία,[2] and whether there be any relation to the Pictish Cruithne,[3] the *-tan-* is not part of the termination which follows.   As a matter of fact, *tanistry* seems to be a thoroughly Celtic word, existing in Gaelic forms *tánaisteachd* and *tánaisteacht*, meaning "law of succession."   The word does not appear in the glossary to the Brehon law; but NED. vouches for its age; and the underlying *tanaise*[3] does appear.   O'Curry[4] explains the law, and describes the election of a "*tanáiste* or successor"; and Gilbert[5] describes the appointing of a new chief of the O'Karwell Clan in 1558. NED. gives Spenser's as the first use in English, although the word

---

[1] P. 612, Morris edition.

[2] See Macbain, p. 393, who refers to Stokes and Rhŷs.

[3] For the etymology of *tdn(a)ise* from *to-ad-+ned-* or *neth-*(?), see Thurneysen, *Handbuch*, p. 237.

[4] E. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, I, clxxxiii and clxi. See also Keating's *History* (I.T.S.), I, 66–67.

[5] Gilbert's *Nat. MSS of Irel.*, extract from fol. 86 of the *MS Council Book* of Ireland, 1558.

must have been common in Anglo-Irish legal documents long before.
Spenser seems to have understood the term as a practical matter of
his own day; but again he does not appear to have had any historical
background in Irish laws and usages—a condition that was common
enough, we may judge, among Anglo-Saxon officialdom.

Of the proper names that Spenser etymologized, one he seems to
have looked upon as originally Irish. The name of the chieftain,
Murroghe en-Ranagh, or *Morroh en-Ranah*,[1] he translates "Morrice
of the Fearne or wast wilde places." The rendering of *Morrice* for
Murroghe is not actual translation, but rather the adoption of a similar
English name as an equivalent. Compare the familiar use of *Charles*
for *Cathair* or of *Dennis* for *Diarmuid*. The rest of the expression,
however, seems to be accurate translation: *-en-* can regularly be a
preposition with genitive force; and *Ranagh* is an altogether possible
phonological descendant of *raithneach, -niġe*, meaning *fern*.

In discussing the ethnology of Ireland, Spenser states that, in
ancient times, "the Sythians planted in the North parts"; an Iberian
people in the west, Gauls in the south, and Britons in the east.
He offers no explanation as to how Ireland, in his own day, all spoke
one language, and that somewhat similar to Brythonic Welsh.
Whether he would have agreed with Rhŷs's theory of two Celtic
invasions, vulgate doctrine thirty years ago, may be left to scholarly
conjecture. Such works as Boece[2] and Camden[3] are doubtless
Spenser's sources. Spenser felt it incumbent upon him to give lin-
guistic proof of the Welsh relationship. In this connection he tried
to find Brythonic etymologies for the Irish family names Kavanagh,
Brin, O'Toole. Later he gives several Welsh words with their mean-
ings; but he fails to show their connection with the Irish words he
is seeking to explain.

Spenser's discussion of Irish family names and his tracing of their
etymologies from the Welsh seem to be founded on English rather
than Celtic sources. Camden refers to the infinite number of British
words in the Irish language;[4] and Ware, Spenser's first editor, says:

[1] P. 615–16, Morris edition.

[2] Hector Boece, "Scotorum Regni Descriptio," *Scotorum Historiae*, 1526.

[3] William Camden, *Britannia*, London, 1590, pp. 5 ff.

[4] Camden's *Britannia*, 2d ed., Gough, 1806, IV, 219. Cf. J. Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, Oxford, 1662, pp. 274 ff.

In Richard Creagh's booke *de lingua Hibernica*, there is a plentifull collection of Irish words, derived from the Brittish or Welch tongue, which doth much strengthen the Authors opinion, in houlding that the *Brines*, *Tooles*, and *Cavenaghs*, with other ancient inhabitants of the easterne parts, were originally Brittish Colonyes.[1]

Spenser has been severely criticized for trying "to fetch the original of several truly Irish families from England and Wales."[2]

Kavanagh, Spenser etymologizes from "kaun," meaning "strong."[3] I have been unable to find any such word in Welsh, or, for that matter, in Irish or Scotch Gaelic. Keating derives Kavanagh from *caomhan*, "a mild or pleasant person," originally applied to Dómhall Caomhanach, son of Diarmuid. He entirely denies Spenser's etymology.[4] Kavanagh is not included in Macbain's appendix on personal names and surnames; but Professor Robinson suggests that it may be related to the Irish *cabán*, a *hollow* or *cavity*, and that it is probably a family name of local origin. In any case, Spenser's statement seems to be quite fanciful.

Brin[5] is the only one that helps to prove his point. Spenser gives it as meaning *hillye;* and indeed the noun *bryn* or *brin* is a common Welsh word meaning *hill*. In Irish, *brinne* means *wood;* but there is *bruinne*, having the original sense of *breast*, and also the tropical sense of *hill* in Irish poetry. Anyone who knew of the *bryn*[6] in Welsh and who ran across *bruinne* in this use, in Irish, might easily associate the two as cognates, as indeed they probably are. The Welsh noun Spenser evidently knew imperfectly, for he gave it as an adjective, but where he picked up knowledge, even as inaccurate as this, is an

---

[1] Spenser's *Present State*, Ware, 1633, p. 81, n. Ware, in his Preface, praises the soundness of Spenser's judgment regarding "the first peopling of the severall parts of the Iland" and asserts that the latter's conclusions "may be further confirmed by comparing them with Richard Creagh's Booke *de linguá Hibernicá*, which is yet extant in the original manuscript." No printed version of Creagh's work is listed in the British Museum catalogue. Hanmer (*The Chronicle of Ireland* [Dublin, 1633], pp. 71 ff.) declares that the "British words among [the Irish] are infinite," gives a list of supposed loan-words, and cites Stanyhurst in support of his opinion.

[2] *The Irish Historical Library*, Dublin and London, 1724, by William, Lord Bishop of Derry, p. 4. See also Keating, *History of Ireland*, ed. Comyn (I.T.S.), London, 1902, I, 24 ff. Roderick O'Flaherty in his *Ogygia* (Part III, chap. lxxvii) devotes a whole chapter to combating this and other theories set forth in Spenser's discussion.

[3] P. 629, Morris edition.

[4] Keating's *History* (I.T.S.), I, 29.

[5] Pp. 629 and 659, Morris edition.

[6] The pronunciation of Welsh *y* like a French *u* would make the word sound very much like the Irish *bruin*.

interesting question. But, not content with thus much learning, he defines *brin* elsewhere as *wood*. He seems to think that it has this meaning in Welsh; but I have found no trace of it. Keating allows *brin* in the sense *woody*, but declares that the family name comes from a young warrior called Bannút.[1] Spenser seems to have put himself to no more pother to gain consistency in scholarship than he did in the plot of his *Faerie Queene*.

The O'Toole[2] family name Spenser takes likewise from the Welsh, and derives it from "*tol*, that is an hill-countrey." O'Toole almost certainly does not come from *tol* or even from the Welsh at all. Professor Robinson says that the immediate source of O'Toole is Ua Tuathail, which is a familiar family name.[3] As for *tol*, its use in the Celtic languages will receive attention in due course, under the noun *tol* defined by Spenser in a British use as "valley or dark."

Spenser was not a very fortunate etymologist of Celtic proper nouns: two of the three from Welsh are more than dubious; and as for Murrogheen-Ranagh, the meaning—which is all Spenser gives —was very likely as widely known as the outlaw himself was notorious. Of course, such names as O'Toole and Kavanagh present rather knotty problems even to the modern philologist with his reference books—such as they are—and his scientific method; but Spenser's effort to derive them from the Welsh certainly does not add to one's opinion of his Celtic scholarship. There remains a fairly long list of common nouns, some of which he seems to have thought of as Welsh, some as Irish. In the case of the former he apparently drew considerably upon his imagination.

In Spenser's *cummurreeih*,[4] which he describes as the cry of one that "flyeth under the succour or protection of any against an enemy" and defines as "help" in "British," I can find no Irish word or cry to be compared with it. Professor Robinson suggests that if Spenser or his informant knew it only in written form, he might have confused the Welsh word with some Irish derivative of *cobair, help,* a confusion that might arise from the common interchange of *mh* and *bh*. The

[1] Keating's *History* (I.T.S.), I, 28–29.
[2] P. 629, Morris edition.
[3] Keating also suggests this, *History* (I.T.S.), I, 28–29.
[4] P. 629, Morris edition.

Dictionary of the Irish Text Society gives a *cumaraċ, strong, power-ful, capable:* perhaps he had this in mind; or perhaps he was simply drawing again on his imagination.   He seems to suggest that there is some relation between this *cummurreeih,* Irish or Welsh, and the Welsh *cummeraig.*   This latter he defines as the Welsh word for "theyr own language"; and indeed this is an older spelling of the Welsh *cymreig,* the source of our *Cymric.*   The word is easy to iden-tify in Welsh; but of the Irish war cry no certain trace remains.

Spenser's Welsh, on the whole, seems to be pretty thoroughly muddled: *tol,* which, as an origin of O'Toole, he defined as a "hill-country" on page 629, on 659 is "a valley or darke."   *Tol,* meaning *hill-country,* we have already discussed.   *Toll,* in varied forms, occurs in all the insular Celtic languages, and regularly signifies a *hole* or *perforation: toll* in Cornish; *twll* in Welsh; *toull* in Breton; *toll* in Irish; *toll* in Scotch Gaelic; and *towl* in Manx.   This sense of *hole* was carried over at least occasionally in Irish[1] and Manx[2] place-names and rather commonly in Scotch[3] to mean a *depression in the land,* and, more specifically, a *pond, cave, hollow,* and *dell.*   The word probably had the meaning of *hollow* and *dell,* and so *valley,* in Irish as well as in Scotch Gaelic; but no such use appears in Welsh; and the sense of *dark* does not seem to occur at all.

This group of words is interesting as showing that the author of *The Present State of Ireland* knew very little Welsh.   The seeming inconsistencies of the meanings that he himself gives for *brin* and *tol* incline one to believe that the Irish tract was by no means a carefully deliberated and amply revised piece of work, but more likely an odd paper, written off, like so many of the tracts of the day, apropos of a particular occasion.   The miscellaneous Irish nouns which will complete the scope of the present study seem to show a greater, though not necessarily more accurate, basis of knowledge behind them.

[1] P. Power, *The Place-Names of Decies* (London, 1907), p. 299, *Toll Oḋar, Dun-Colored Pond.*

[2] A. W. Moore, *Manx Names* (London, 1903), p. 98, *Towl,* a *hole,* a *cave* as in *Towl Dick.*

[3] W. J. Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty,* Inverness, 1904.   *Toll* appears as *cave,* p. 49; as *hollow,* pp. 165, 231; as *hole* or *hollow in the ground,* pp. 73, 105, 180, 218; as *spate-hole, a deep and narrow corry,* p. 168.

Farrih[1] Spenser gives as a war cry, and etymologizes it as "a Scotch woord, to weete, the name of one of the first Kings of Scotland, called Fargus, Fergus, or Ferragus, which fought against the Pictes. . . . ." Spenser objects to Stanyhurst's theory that the word comes from *Pharao*, and that the Irish were originally Egyptians; and he supports his own contention by remarking that there were many men in the north of Ireland called Farreehs. As to the actual war cry, Keating derives it from *faire, faire ó, watch, watch O*, or *ó faire, O take care*.[2] It may be related to *ferrać, -aiġ, force* or *violence;* and Professor Robinson suggests a relation to *fear, man*, or *rí, king*, in some combination.[3] As for Fergus or Fearghas, Macbain gives OI *Fergus*[4] perhaps from **ver-gustu-s, super-choice*. Spenser's use of the name is interesting as lending a little more credibility to his having browsed in the legendary history of Ireland. Stanyhurst's Egyptian theory comes down from such ancient sources as the *Leabhar Gabhala*, and seems still to have some currency as late as 1790, when Dr. Hastler published his pseudo-antiquarian Συλλεγόμενα in satirical proof "that Ireland was originally peopled by the Egyptians." Spenser's etymology is at least not quite so far afield as Egypt.

Gaull,[5] he says, is Irish for "straunge inhabitaunt." The word is derived, he says, from the days of the Gaulish invasion, which overthrew the "Sythians" in Ireland. The source for Spenser's opinion was probably Buchanan's *Rerum Scotiarum Historia*.[6] There is a word *gall*, meaning *foreign*, in Irish; and the introduction of the *-u-* may show either that Spenser took advantage of Elizabethan license in spelling to enforce his etymologies, or that he was trying to reproduce an Irish dialectic pronunciation *goul*, or merely that he had chanced upon that spelling in Irish. A relation, moreover, to the

---

[1] P. 632, Morris edition.

[2] Keating's *History* (I.T.S.), I, 42–43.

[3] The former of these suggestions is borne out by an anonymous writer in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, III, 203.

[4] King Fergus is a well-known figure of Celtic legendary history. See Stanyhurst, *De rebus in Hibernia gestis*, Antwerp, 1584, p. 26, etc. Buchanan gives three kings named "Fergusius," *Historia*, 1594, pp. 99 ff., 135 ff., 165 ff. Spenser himself refers to Buchanan in this connection.

[5] P. 628, Morris edition.

[6] 1594 ed., pp. 64 ff. Cf. spelling *gald* in the 1633 ed. of Spenser, p. 33. Cf. Keating's *History*, I, 230–31.

Gaul of Continental Celtic is generally accepted by scholars;[1] but his idea of a Gaulish invasion, unless we liken it to Rhŷs's second Celtic invasion, seems, rather than anything else, a figment of the legendary histories of Ireland. Macbain discusses the two opinions as to the etymology of the word as follows:

> Gall, a Lowlander, stranger, Irish Gall, a stranger, Englishman, Irish gall, foreigner; from Gallus, a Gaul, the Gauls being the first strangers to visit or be visited by the Irish in pre-Roman times (Zimmer). For derivation, see *gall, valour*. Stokes takes a different view; he gives as basis for gall, stranger, *ghaslo, root ghas, Latin hostis, English guest. Hence, he derives gallus, a Gaul, from some Celtic dialect.

Whether Spenser was right or wrong in relating *gall* and *Gaul* is a matter for learned conjecture; but the etymology certainly has some modern authority behind it.

Galloglass,[2] according to Spenser, originally meant an English "servitour or yeoman," especially one of the English mercenaries. NED. queries the origin as applied necessarily to an Englishman any more than to any other foreigner. In general, however, Spenser seems correct as to the meaning of the word: it is a Celtic compound of *gall, foreign,* and *oglach, a youth, servant, warrior.*

Rathe,[3] also, is a purely Celtic word. Spenser says it means *hill,* and uses it referring to those walled mounds which the ancient inhabitants of Ireland used as fortresses. Spenser seems to have gotten the erroneous sense of *hill* from the fact that these forts were usually upon a barrow or some slight elevation. The ascription to the Danes is noted in NED. as incorrect; and indeed Spenser seems partly responsible for the compounding of the word which has enshrined this bit of pseudo-antiquity in our language.

Of the legal terms, English and Irish, Spenser seems to know the meanings; but his etymologies appear to be the merest guesswork and fancy—a condition quite to be expected in a day when Indo-Germanic roots and phonological variations were as yet unstudied and even unheard of. His Welsh etymologies of family names and of common nouns are, most of them, obviously and radically wrong.

[1] See Kuno Meyer, *Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Akad. der Wissen.*, 1918, p. 1044..

[2] P. 640, Morris edition.

[3] P. 642, Morris edition, commonly in the form Dane-rathe or Dane-rathes, as writers misled by Spenser's etymology have put it.

But it is even more interesting to note that *The Present State of Ireland* shows some knowledge of Irish common nouns; and Spenser's blunders point to his having supplied this knowledge himself rather than having called in expert assistance. *Rathe, farrih,* and the correct etymology of *gall,* moreover, suggest that he had at least some cursory interest in Irish antiquity, but it could not have been much more than cursory. One can readily believe that he had listened to translations of some of the old bardic songs. Just how much, however, and just wherein all this influenced his poetry are matters for future scholarship to decide.

Spenser's knowledge of linguistics as revealed by the *Present State* was sadly narrow. This is particularly true as regards Celtic matters, and one is not surprised to find his political policy unsympathetic, at times almost to the point of savagery: he had no conception of the venerable antiquities of Ireland, and did not realize that there was a time when the students in the schools of Bangor knew more Greek than Pope Gregory the Great. One must not, however, lay too much blame on Spenser for this miscomprehension.

The Present State of Ireland seems to have ranked as a classic treatise for a considerable period. Writers on Ireland regularly attacked or defended it, as their politics dictated. Spenser's very diction had its influence: the form *Dane-rathe* he seems to have introduced into the language,[1] and one or two of the legal terms probably owe to him their literary use. These days the pamphlet treatise is rather neglected; but it is interesting as one of the early monuments of Celtic scholarship in English; and it seems to have a vital connection with English literature as mirroring the environment whence sprang the greatest poetical romance in the language.

JOHN W. DRAPER

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

[1] NED. gives no earlier use.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England. By EILERT
    EKWALL. (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N.F. Avd. 1. Bd. 14.
    Nr. 27.)[1] Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup; Leipzig: Otto Harras-
    sowitz, 1918. Pp. xiii+125.

    Dr. Eilert Ekwall's *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*
is a systematic study of the important and little-known subject of the
population elements in certain parts of the north of England during the
Viking occupation. The book "contains the results of an examination of
the place- and personal-names of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lan-
cashire, undertaken with a view to discover traces of Goidelic influence and
thereby to throw some light on the nature and extent of Goidelic influence
on the language of the Scandinavians in these districts" (p. 12). Dr. Ekwall
also discusses the Brythonic forms in the place-names of the territory
covered, especially Cumberland.

    As the author admits, the documentation is incomplete, particularly in
the omission of the Pipe Rolls and other important publications. The list
of Celtic sources might also be considerably extended. Fortunately,
however, the inclusion of further linguistic evidence, though important for
details, would probably not have materially affected Dr. Ekwall's general
conclusions.

    A large part of the dissertation is devoted to what the author calls
"inversion-compounds," "a peculiar kind of compound names, in which the
first element is determined by the second." Typical examples are *Brig-
gethorfin*, 'Thorfin's bridge,' and *Polneuton*, 'Newton pool.' Dr. Ekwall
finds in Cumberland and Lancashire a considerable number of inversion-
compounds involving Scandinavian and Celtic elements. After examining
a large number of cases he concludes that "in all probability inversion-
compounds are due to Celtic influence. . . . . It follows from the results
of the examination of the elements that Goidelic, not Brythonic, influence
is to be assumed" (p. 52). From at least as early as the middle of the ninth
century the Scandinavians were in more or less close contact with the
Goidels of Ireland, Scotland, and the Western Isles,[2] and it is to some of

---

[1] *Festskrift utgiven av Lunds Universitet vid dess tvåhundrafemtioårsjubileum, 1918.*

[2] It should be noted that Marstrander's *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland*
(Christiania, 1915), which Dr. Ekwall cites as his authority on the Scandinavian elements
in early Irish, overemphasizes the importance of the Scandinavian influence. The book
is severely criticized by the late Kuno Meyer in the *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen
Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XLV (1918), 1030–47. Cf. *Revue celtique*, XXXVI,
241–63.

these Scandinavians (Norwegians rather than Danes) that, according to Dr. Ekwall, we must look for the origin of the place-names discussed. "Most of the inversion-compounds doubtless belong to the earliest Scandinavian names in N.W. England." This method of forming place-names seems to have continued until after the Norman conquest. The author is uncertain whether the Celtic elements were introduced by Scandinavianized Goidels or by "a subject Goidelic class, which had come over with the Scandinavian settlers" (pp. 54 f.), but he inclines to the hypothesis that "the inversion-compounds in England were coined by Scandinavians." In any case Dr. Ekwall's collection of material forms a valuable addition to the constantly growing body of evidence pointing to the strong influence of the Goidels upon the Scandinavian invaders of Celtic territory and to the important part played by Celtic elements in the north of England.

Brythonic elements Dr. Ekwall finds most common in northeast Cumberland. The evidence "proves that a Brythonic population and a Brythonic language must have survived comparatively long in parts of the county" (p. 117). This conclusion should be considered in connection with Rhŷs's important surmise that Brythonic was spoken in the district of Carnoban (between Leeds and Dumbarton) as late as the fourteenth century (*Celtic Britain*, 3d ed., London, 1904, p. 149).

The general results of Dr. Ekwall's investigation should have a distinct bearing on the question of the possible Celtic elements in certain medieval romances composed in the northwest district of England.

                                                    T. P. C.